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SHKODER EDITOR RECOUNTS STRUGGLE AGAINST RELIGION

[Editorial Report]--In an article in the Tirana publication of the Union of Journalists of Albania, TRUBINA E GAZETARIT, Jul-Aug 80, pp 29-32, Ndue Lazri, editor of the Shkoder newspaper, JETA E RE, reports on articles attacking religion which have appeared in his newspaper since 1967, the year that Albania declared herself the first atheistic state in the world. Excerpts from this article follow:

"The article, 'The Anti-National Attitude of the Clergy in the Years 1910-1911', written by L. Franja, unmasked some press organs of the clergy such as HYLLI i DRITES, which were trying to distort history, quoting some excerpts from the memorandum of Grecke like the work of the former Archbishop Jak Sereqi. The publication of such articles, especially in the 1969-1974 period, was of special importance since it made it possible to learn who the priests and hodjas really were. The newspaper carried on an open struggle against the celebration of religious feasts, pointing out the ideological and economic damage caused by them and the damage caused by giving small children names of religious origin.

In the article, 'The Effective Struggle Against Religious Ideology', the author, A. Tukaj, describes the struggle being waged and the results achieved and the duties of the Democratic Front organizations, under the leadership of the party, in increasing revolutionary vigilance toward former clergymen, who, secretly, were trying to influence others to take part in religious rituals. The need to bring the ideological struggle into the family, where remnants of religious ideology are often manifested, was also stressed.

When the atheistic museum was established, the paper published a series of articles unmasking the anti-national and anti-social activity of the clergy.

At the present time, the newspaper is continuing to keep alive the struggle against religion and backward customs. For example, last year, the paper published the article 'The Barber With Two Trades' which attacked phenomena of the appearance of the ritual of circumcision in our days."

CSO: 2100/62

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

RELIGIOUS RITUALS IN MAT--A young woman from Martanesh spoke at the 27th conference of the Union of Working Youth in Mat District. She said that the fight against backward customs and religious superstitions is not being carried out as it should be. In Martanesh there are arranged marriages and religious rituals are carried out here and there. These things are happening right in front of the young people. Such things have occurred in some other villages in Mat District such as Xiber, Gure e Bardhe, and Baz. In Gure e Bardhe and Martanesh some young women still wear old, heavy clothing. Why are the youth silent, why do they tolerate such a situation? The youth organizations should rise up and take a stand against foreign manifestations which come from the influence of bourgeois and revisionist pressure and against remnants of the old ideology. [Excerpts] [Tirana ZERI I RINISE 25 Mar 81 pp 2, 3]

CSO: 2100/62

12TH BCP CONGRESS THESES ON PARTY WORK, DEVELOPMENT

AU151830 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Apr 81 pp 1-7

[Theses on the 12th BCP Congress on the party's work; the social, economic and cultural development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the seventh 5-year plan period; (1976-80) and on the tasks for the eighth 5-year plan period, and through 1990]

[Text] Five years have passed since the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. This was an exceptionally important period in the struggle for implementing the party program on building a developed socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The seventh 5-year plan for the socioeconomic development of the country was successfully completed under the strategic slogan of high effectiveness and high quality in all sectors and activities.

The 12th BCP Congress took place on the eve of noteworthy events close to the heart of every Bulgarian communist and Bulgarian patriot: The 25th anniversary of the April BCP Central Committee Plenum, the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the 13th centennial of the founding of the Bulgarian state.

The meaning and content of the party's comprehensive activities in the period between the 11th and 12th congresses were the concern and struggle for enhancing the material and spiritual well-being of the people and for accelerating the social, economic and spiritual enhancement of our socialist homeland.

These were fruitful years during which our country, regardless of the difficulties related to the unfavorable international situation and of weaknesses in some subjective areas, reached new heights which brought it closer to the achievements of the advanced countries in many respects.

New major successes were achieved in the development of production forces, science, artistic culture and education, in the advancement of social relations, in enhancing the living standards of the people and in the further assertion of the socialist way of life.

The sociopolitical and ideological unity of the Bulgarian people became even stronger. The activeness of all social forces and social groups increased in

implementing the policy of the BCP in the work and struggle for the good of the people. Comprehensive activities were developed for the sake of improving our social management.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is an inflexible fortress and a dynamically developing country of real socialism. Its existence and development are founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian and socialist internationalism. The international prestige and influence of socialist Bulgaria rose and strengthened as an active factor for peace, cooperation and understanding among nations.

The guiding and directing role of the BCP, as the vanguard of the working class and the entire people, increased even further in the course of the solution of the broad and complex problems of building a mature socialist society. The party promptly detected and provided a profound scientific answer to the ripe problems of the country's development. It formulated the proper directions and mobilized the efforts, minds and creativity of the party members and all working people for their successful solution.

The successes achieved in all areas of social life are a new manifestation of the vital force of the socialist social system and of its unquestionable advantages over capitalism.

These successes show yet once again and reassert the accuracy, vitality and creative nature of the Leninist April line followed by the Bulgarian Communist Party. For the past 25 years the April line, representing Marxism-Leninism in action, is yielding historical results in the building of socialism. It is steadily developing and enriching in accordance with the development of life and the progress made by the country toward mature socialism.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, a major theoretician and organizer, noted personality in the international communist and workers movements, and worthy continuator of the cause of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov, is making a historical contribution to and deserves credit for the elaboration and implementation of the April line.

In the period of preparations for its regular 12th Congress the BCP is drawing up the balance of the main results of its work and of the development of the country after the 11th Congress, and is earmarking the basic problems and directions of Bulgaria's overall development in the eighth 5-year plan.

It is a question of a balance, problems and directions of great strategic and immediate importance in the all-round development of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the living standard of the Bulgarian people and the further implementation of our immediate historical task--the building of mature socialism.

It is a question of assessments, problems and tasks pertaining to the achievements in the seventh 5-year plan and the forthcoming tasks of the eighth 5-year plan in all areas of our material and spiritual development. The more accurately such assessments, problems and tasks are developed, the better, the more solid and the

more fruitful will be the foundation of the forthcoming work of the party and the country at large and of each party organization and individual labor collective separately.

The formulation of the theses of the 12th BCP Congress is a major and responsible partywide project. It can be implemented on the necessary level only by including the collective mind and competency of the entire party, the working class, the specialists, the agricultural workers, the scientific and artistic-creative and entire people's intelligentsia, and of all generations and working people in our homeland.

I. On World Circumstances and Party and State International Activities

In the past period the BCP and the Bulgarian People's Republic pursued an active and peaceful foreign policy in international circumstances characterized by increased complexity and contradictions.

During that period the greatest accomplishment in international relations was the continuation of the policy of detente and cooperation among countries in Europe and throughout the world. This represented a major victory for the peoples and the peace-loving forces. Detente is consistent with the basic interests of each nation and country. The task of defending, protecting and continuing detente remains basic. It becomes even more important and topical now, when imperialism, American imperialism above all, is trying to make a turn from the policy of detente to a policy of tension, expansion and confrontation, when reactionary forces are trying to trigger a new arms race and when a serious danger is threatening world peace.

In the past period as well, relations among countries continued to develop under the sign of the basic contradiction of our age: the contradiction between capitalism and socialism. As a whole, the ratio of forces in the world continued to change in favor of peace, independence, democracy and socialism.

The all-round successes of the socialist community--the main bulwark of peace and social progress--were the foundations for its growing influence on the course of world events. The socialist countries, the great Soviet Union above all, were the main factor in the strengthening of international security and cooperation. The BCP Central Committee stresses with deep satisfaction the tremendous contribution and profound role played by the CPSU and the USSR and, personally, Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, and the fraternal socialist countries in the struggle for peace and detente. The BCP will also continue in future to make its active contribution to the consistent implementation of the program on peace and detente which was adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress, updated at the 25th CPSU Congress and once more further developed at the 26th CPSU Congress.

The prestige, influence and role of the international communist and workers movements has increased. The struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries for democratic freedoms and social changes has assumed a new scope. An active class and anti-imperialist struggle is developing in many Asian, African and Latin American countries. The movement for peace and for preventing the danger of a thermonuclear catastrophe has become even more effective. Unity among the different

democratic, peace-loving and revolutionary forces of our time has strengthened. The detente process created real prerequisites for the assertion of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and for the development of their reciprocal economic, political and cultural relations.

In recent years, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have achieved new successes in the struggle against imperialism and for national independence, economic independence, and social progress.

The fact that a number of oppressed peoples have won their freedom and independence, the victories of the peoples' anti-imperialist revolution in certain developing countries, and the disintegration of the aggressive CENTO bloc--all these events represent a serious blow against the positions of imperialism. The national liberation struggle for the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, against neocolonialism and against the antipeople's and dictatorial regimes continues.

A qualitatively new factor in the development of some of these countries is their socialist orientation. This also applies to the fact that part of the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties are adopting the ideas of Marxism-Leninism as their fundamental principle for the basic reorganization of society.

Imperialism does not resign itself to the revolutionary changes, and is increasingly reverting to military intervention. It declares entire geographic areas as zones of its "vital interests." It is creating new military bases and "rapid deployment forces," and is trying to split the unity of action of the developing states, to set them opposite the socialist community countries. This is a serious threat against the independence and progress of the developing countries.

The general crisis in the capitalist world continued to intensify and all its contradictions to aggravate. Of late, the aggressive imperialist circles have intensified their attempts to stop or, at least, to slow down the development of the global revolutionary process, disturb the approximate military balance which has been created and change the ratio of forces in their favor. To this effect they are accelerating the arms race and pursuing a policy of provocations and threats toward the socialist and other independent countries. They are encouraging neofascism, and international terrorism, and are supporting reactionary regimes.

Some phenomena related to the scientific and technical revolution are part of the complex picture of today's world. To us, communists, scientific and technical progress is a powerful factor in resolving the tremendous and complex problems facing mankind. At the same time, however, in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie, scientific and technical progress is subordinated to plans for expansion and domination and for the destruction of nations.

In the nuclear missile age there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence. More than ever before, today the problem of peace and war assumes utmost importance.

The Bulgarian People's Republic as well has made a worthy contribution to the consolidation of peace and intensification of cooperation and understanding among peoples in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world. In the past period our country hosted the World Parliament of Peoples for Peace and a number of other

major international meetings and activities. The foreign political activities, speeches, and works published abroad of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, met with the broad response of the world public. His visits to many countries in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America strengthened and broadened political relations and the economic, scientific and cultural cooperation between Bulgaria and these countries.

Today, socialist Bulgaria is an active, respected and sought after partner. Its role in international life is rising steadily. It is maintaining diplomatic relations with 116 countries, trade relations with 112 and cultural relations with 132.

The Bulgarian People's Republic's foreign policy successes are the result of the stable ascending socialist development of our country, particularly after the historical April 1956 Plenum. They are the result of the organic unity between the party and people, the dynamic social, economic and cultural progress, the creative approach to problems of domestic and foreign policy and the inflexible loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The foreign policy of Bulgaria is principled, consistent, dynamic and constructive. It is an inseparable part of the joint policies pursued by the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries for insuring lasting peace, cooperation and social progress on earth.

The shaping and implementation of the country's foreign policy is the work of the party's Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo, of the Bulgarian Government and, personally, of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Because of his Marxist-Leninist principles and foresight, prestige and experience as a statesman, he justifiably holds a noted position among the most active and respected political figures of our time.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is actively participating in the work of the United Nations and of virtually all international specialized organizations and, in accordance with its possibilities, is making a worthy contribution to the achievement of their noble objectives. Our country's participation in the work of UNESCO is increasing further and further.

The further strengthening of the unity, unity of action and fraternal alliance with the members of the socialist comity and, above all, with the great Soviet Union, will remain the basic direction of the foreign policy of our party and state.

The systematic activities and cooperation among our communist parties, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are the motive force of the fraternal relations existing among the members of the socialist community. The constant and active contacts at all levels and, particularly, the meetings and talks among the leading party and state leaders of the members of the community, play an important role.

The course of global events confirmed the historical mission of the Warsaw Pact as a reliable shield protecting the independence and socialist gains of its member

countries and as a decisive factor for peace and security. The constructive proposals made by the Political Consultative Committee of the member countries and, particularly, the proposals calling for a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, for the conclusion of a treaty among all members of the European conference on not being the first to use nuclear or conventional weapons against one another and many others indicate the proper ways for the solution of the main international problems.

It is our national and international duty to continue to cooperate in the further all-round strengthening of the Warsaw Pact, particularly in the current complex international situation.

CEMA is of exceptional importance in the successful development of the socialist countries. In recent years the development of cooperation among CEMA member countries have entered a new, higher stage. Our country's active participation in CEMA activities will continue. We shall be making our contribution to the steady advancement of its work and the further development of integration processes on a bilateral and multilateral basis. The broadening and intensification of specialization and cooperation and the implementation of longterm target programs will remain the main directions in the development of cooperation.

The multilateral and bilateral cooperation among the fraternal parties of the socialist community countries in the ideological, organizational and foreign policy sectors was further developed during the period under review. The expediency and effectiveness of Central Committee secretaries' conferences on international, ideological and organizational issues was confirmed. The BCP will continue to devote further efforts to the development of cooperation in this field.

The relations between the BCP and the Bulgarian People's Republic and the CPSU and the USSR are the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

Under the guidance of the BCP and CPSU and their Central Committees and, personally, of Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Leonid Brezhnev, Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and cooperation are intensifying and strengthening ever further. They are becoming a great material force in our development.

The BCP and CPSU are successfully implementing their joint course of all-round cooperation and rapprochement between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. This course is a prime factor in the blossoming of socialist Bulgaria. It is of great international importance and we shall continue to follow it steadfastly.

We shall continue to improve cooperation among party, state, economic and public organs, organizations and movements and among okrugs and labor collectives. The rapprochement process will be developed in all areas.

The BCP deems it as its supreme patriotic and international duty to continue to do everything possible in the future to promote the steady development of friendship and cooperation in all directions between the BCP and CPSU, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR and between the Bulgarian and the Soviet peoples.

Bilateral relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other members of the socialist community have reached a new, higher level. We shall continue to devote tireless efforts and concern for their all-round and fruitful development.

The trend toward a considerable growth of trade, more effective development of specialization and cooperation and the application of contemporary methods of economic and scientific and technical cooperation will be retained and intensified. The content and forms of cooperation in the fields of culture, science and tourism and in all fields of life will be developed and enriched.

Bulgaria pays prime attention to its relations with the Balkan countries. It is promoting peace, goodneighborly relations and security in the area, intensified trust and friendship among Balkan countries and the steady development and enrichment of cooperation with our neighbors and a realistic, consistent, principled and constructive basis.

The positive changes which have been accomplished on the Balkan Peninsula through joint efforts have been significant, and substantial advances have been made. The Balkan peoples are becoming ever more clearly aware of the benefits of peace, detente and understanding. Ever more soberly and realistically the Balkan countries are working for the conversion of our area into a zone and factor of European and global peace.

Our Balkan policy is consistent with the basic interests of the Bulgarian and other peoples of the area. It serves the cause of peace, detente and international cooperation.

Bulgaria will continue its active struggle for the assertion of positive trends in relations among Balkan countries. It will oppose the attempts of certain imperialist and reactionary circles to destabilize the circumstances in the area and promote mistrust and tension among the Balkan nations. Our desire is for the Balkan Peninsula to become an area of lasting peace and stability so that we may live in an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect and close and sincere friendship with all neighbors. We shall steadfastly pursue this objective.

The Bulgarian People's Republic ascribes great importance to the development of active political, economic, cultural and other relations and cooperation with the newly liberated and the developing countries. Loyal to our revolutionary convictions, we feel sincere sympathy for these countries and are giving them selfless moral-political and material aid. Our principled policy is yielding good results: we are maintaining intensive, comprehensive and expanding contacts and cooperation with virtually all developing countries.

The BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria express their solidarity with the struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for independence, democracy and social progress.

We have always been and will continue to be in solidarity with the struggle for building a new society in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, the PDRY, and with the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples in the South of Africa, in the Persian Gulf and in Central America, as well as in other parts of the globe.

We are expressing our militant solidarity with the people's anti-imperialist revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada, and with the struggle of patriotic forces against the reactionary regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala and other countries of Latin America.

We support the struggle waged by the Arab peoples against imperialism, zionism and reaction and favor the overall, just and lasting solution of the Middle Eastern problem, the total withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and the creation of its own independent country. The Bulgarian People's Republic favors strict respect for the sovereignty and security of all states in the area, including Israel.

The Bulgarian People's Republic highly values the contribution which the movement of nonaligned countries is making in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace and reduction of international tension, against imperialism, colonialism and racism, and for the reorganization of international economic relations on a democratic and just basis.

We shall continue to strengthen our comprehensive relations with the developing countries. Our foreign economic and cultural relations will be developed on an accelerated and mutually profitable basis through comprehensive economic, trade, cultural and scientific and technical cooperation with them. Our comprehensive relations with countries with a socialist orientation and with their ruling revolutionary-democratic parties will continue to expand and intensify.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is building its relations with the developed capitalist countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. Our relations with many of them are developing actively, on a principled and mutually profitable basis. Agreements reached at summit meetings are being successfully implemented. There is a reciprocal aspiration to use existing opportunities for mutually profitable cooperation in various areas.

In coordination with the other members of the socialist community, the Bulgarian People's Republic will:

Systematically and actively assist in surmounting the current international tension and promoting the strict observance of the Helsinki Final Act, and the elaboration of a system of measures which will guarantee peace, detente, disarmament, and the freedom and progress of the nations;

Struggle with all possible means against the export of counterrevolution in countries and areas which have taken the path of social change;

Strive toward greater effectiveness of economic relations with capitalist countries on a mutually profitable and balanced basis and the more extensive use of promising forms of cooperation;

Contribute to the further development of scientific, technical and cultural exchanges with these countries.

The working class is in the center of our age. The international communist and workers movements are asserting themselves as the most influential political force of our time. The communist ranks are growing and strengthening. Today, over 90 communist and workers parties throughout the world are working and struggling for the implementation of the common communist ideal.

The BCP maintains active relations and is engaged in a variety of bilateral and multilateral forms of cooperation with all communist and workers Marxist-Leninist parties in the world. In 1980 alone over 180 delegations and work groups were exchanged between the BCP and the fraternal parties. The BCP participated in a number of international meetings and other actions of the European and global communist movement.

The Marxist-Leninist communist parties and the communist movement as a whole are in the leading ranks of the progressive struggles of contemporary mankind. The communists are in the vanguard of the efforts of the peoples for building socialism and communism in the socialist countries and for achieving profound democratic and social changes in the capitalist world. The unity of action and cohesion of the communist and workers movements are strengthening in the course of the struggle for peace, security and social progress.

The communist movement is using a great variety of methods in strengthening interaction in the joint struggle. The 1976 Berlin Conference of communist and workers parties of Europe and other multilateral meetings played a useful role. The international theoretical conference held in 1978 in Sofia on "the building of socialism and communism and global development" was a major event in the life of the communist movement in recent years. The 1980 Paris meeting of European communist and workers parties proved that the communists favor a constructive dialogue and joint action with all democratic and peace-loving forces, movements and organizations.

Frightened by the growing attractiveness of communist ideas, the imperialist bourgeoisie has energized its crusade against the communist movement. It is trying to break the ideological-political unity of communist and workers parties, lead them astray from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and divide the common anti-imperialist front.

Maoist ideology and practice and the paralleling antisocialist actions of the Beijing hegemonists and warmongering imperialist circles represent a major threat to peace and security and to the development of the global revolutionary process.

The BCP will continue to dedicate constant efforts in strengthening the unity of the communist movement and expanding and intensifying relations with communist and workers parties the world over and with the revolutionary-democratic parties and movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Loyal to its international positions, our party will continue to march shoulder to shoulder with the CPSU, the fraternal parties in the socialist countries, the communist and workers movements, the international working class and the national-liberation movement in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy and socialism.

II. On the Socioeconomic Development of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Main Results of the Country's Socioeconomic Development in 1976-1980

In the seventh 5-year plan the socialist economy developed in accordance with the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress aimed at the ever fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people, on the basis of the dynamic development of public production and the enhancement of its effectiveness and quality. The building of the material and technical foundations of our socialist society continued. The economic and scientific and technical potential of all national economic sectors rose considerably.

The national income rose by nearly 24 billion leva compared with the sixth 5-year plan. Virtually this entire increase was achieved as a result of higher social labor productivity whose average annual growth rate was about 6.1 percent. The basic share of the national income was used directly for consumption purposes by the population, housing construction and the development of education, culture and health care.

In the seventh 5-year plan a major investment program was carried out in terms of the country's scale. Capital investments totaling almost 31 billion leva were spent for the development of the national economy. By the end of 1980 the value of fixed capital reached 77 billion leva. Major projects were completed such as the second stage of the USSR-Bulgarian main gas pipeline and its first expansion; the plant for polyester fabrics at the Dimitur Dimov Chemical Combine in Yambol; the Sestrimo power system; the Maritsaistok 3 Tets [thermoelectric power plant]; the aluminum processing combine in Shumen; the cast iron plant in Ikhtiman; the steel pipes plant in Septemvri; the plant for the processing of polyester fabrics in Dimitrograd; the Varna-Ilichevsk Ferryboat Complex; the Maritsa canning combine in Pazardzhik; the expansion of the Veslets cast iron plant in Vratsa, the Varna Tets and the Kozloduy Aets [nuclear power plant]; the modernization and reconstruction of the chlorine and polyvinylchloride plant in Devnya, production facilities for high pressure polyethylene and ethylene in Burgas and many others.

The concentration and specialization of output on the scale of the entire national economy ensured the further progressive changes which took place in the structure of the economy and the production variety.

Industrial output rose by about 35 percent. Priority was given to the development of sectors accountable for scientific and technical progress and considered basic in the further accelerated intensification of the entire national economy. Machine building output rose by 56.2 percent; power output by 35 percent; metallurgy by 18.1 percent; and the chemical industry by 52.9 percent.

New successes were achieved in agriculture. The material and technical base of this sector was broadened. It is assuming an ever greater industrial aspect. Agricultural output rose by about 12 percent while animal husbandry alone rose by 22 percent.

Construction was developed further. Building production has increased over 309 percent.

The material and technical base of the transportation system was broadened. Compared with 1975, in 1980 32 percent more freight and 5.7 percent more passengers were hauled.

In the field of communications the handling capacity of settlement telephone exchanges was almost doubled. About 65 percent of interurban telephone communications were automated.

The other sectors and activities within the national economy rapidly developed as well.

Foreign economic policy was focused, above all, on the expansion and intensification of the country's participation in socialist economic integration with the CEMA member countries. The course of all-round cooperation and rapprochement between our country and the USSR acquired a new content and forms.

Foreign economic relations with the nonsocialist countries continued to develop on a mutually profitable basis.

Compared with 1975, the 1980 foreign trade of the Bulgarian People's Republic virtually doubled. The structure of exports was improved: the relative share of machines and equipment exported reached 45 percent.

Despite the worsened international economic circumstances, adverse weather conditions and natural disasters, in the seventh 5-year plan not only was the living standard prevented from declining but the further upsurge of the people's well-being was insured. In 5 years the funds allocated for upgrading the living standard (the consumption fund in the used national income) amounted to about 19 billion leva more than in the sixth 5-year plan. The material and spiritual needs of the people were met more completely and working and living conditions were improved.

Real per capita income rose 12.7 percent.

Per capita public consumption funds rose from 420 leva in 1975 to 619 leva in 1980. At the end of the 5-year plan they totaled 5.5 billion leva.

A new important measure was implemented in 1979: the simultaneous realignment of wholesale and retail prices in accordance with objective economic development conditions and upgraded economic effectiveness with an increase in the wages and other income of the working people. The minimum monthly wage rose from 80 to 100 leva, while the minimum wage of young specialists with higher education rose from 105 to 155 leva. The average wage rates of workers and employees rose by 25 percent. Considerably larger funds were allocated for supplements for children, pensions, scholarships, social aid and so on.

Consumption of basic food and durable goods increased and its structure improved. Compared with 1975, the 1980 retail trade was 30 percent higher while population services rose by 50 percent. Per capita consumption of basic food staples reached the following levels: meat and meat products, 62.5 kilograms; milk, 196 liters; eggs, 203; fruits and vegetables, 204 kilograms; and sugar and confectionary goods,

34 kilograms. Our working people are allocating an ever higher share of their income for the purchase of durable goods, construction and furnishing of housing and cultural requirements. In 1980 there were 77 television sets, 71 electric washing machines, 77 household refrigerators, 29 passenger cars, and so on per 100 families. A total of 58 million copies of books and pamphlets were published.

The housing fund was expanded. About 352,000 new housing units were built, or over 100,000 more than in the sixth 5-year plan. New schools, health and children's institutions and cultural projects were commissioned. The free supply of textbooks to students was expanded. In 1980, 76 percent of all children attended kindergarten.

In the past period, gradually, all workers and employees in the national economy, excluding those working in agriculture and education, converted to a 5-day work week.

The other aspects of the socialist way of life continued to improve along with the enhancement of the living standard of the people. Specific measures were implemented in intensifying the process of surmounting the major disparities between town and country on the basis of the new territorial-settlement system. Youth vocational training, education and social realization of opportunities were improved.

In accordance with the creative nature of its economic policy and on the initiative and with the direct guidance of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the party's Central Committee implemented important measures in improving economic management and particularly in developing and applying the principles of the new economic approach and the new economic mechanism. These are major problems facing the developed socialist society, related to the systematic application of the Leninist principles of economic management, the formulation and solution of these problems is a contribution of the BCP, its Central Committee and, personally, of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the theory and practice of building socialism.

Positive results have been achieved after 2 years of application of the new economic approach and mechanism in material production sectors.

In the seventh 5-year plan the energy-raw material and monetary crisis of capitalism, the steady increase in the prices of imported raw and other materials, fuels and machines, the poor weather conditions and some natural disasters adversely affected our economy.

Subjective weaknesses were allowed to occur as well. Not all sectors and activities made the full turn to the most complete discovery and utilization of the substantial reserves which exist for insuring the even more dynamic development of the national economy. Some economic units violated the planning, contractual, financial, production and technological discipline; the achievement of scientific and technical progress and leading experience were applied too slowly; production capacities, raw materials, materials, energy, fuels and working time were used inefficiently. The nonfulfillment of plans for the production of some important goods and for cooperated supplies and spare parts created major difficulties in the system of material and technical supplies. Disturbances in the production process arose also by the fault of the transportation organizations, the railroads

in particular. The commissioning and mastering of new production capacities were not always on time. The production of some consumer goods and population services was inadequate and unrhythmical.

Regardless of these difficulties and weaknesses, the main socioeconomic task of the seventh 5-year plan, as defined by the 11th Congress, was successfully carried out. The seventh 5-year plan was one of constructive creativity on the part of millions of working people, stable development of production forces, further advancement of socialist social relations, and enhanced material and spiritual well-being of the Bulgarian people. The People's Republic of Bulgaria took a new giant step in implementing the party's program of building a developed socialist society. The economic, scientific and technical and cadre potential which was created will enable our people in the forthcoming period to undertake the solution of new and even greater problems.

Basic Tasks of the Country's Socioeconomic Development in the Eighth 5-Year Plan and Through 1990

The next decade will be a period of dynamic quantitative and qualitative changes in the development of production forces, the improvement of social relations and the molding of a comprehensively developed socialist personality. The industrial and scientific and technical potential will be increased considerably. The country's material and spiritual wealth will grow. The advantages of developed socialism will be manifested to an even greater extent.

In accordance with the basic tenets of the party program, in accordance with the level achieved in the country's development and in accordance with the conditions under which the construction of mature socialism will be pursued in our country, the BCP Central Committee proposed to the 12th Congress to adopt the following main socioeconomic task of the eighth 5-year plan period; and to pursue the policy of comprehensive satisfaction of the people's constantly growing material, intellectual and social needs on the basis of intensifying national economy and on the basis of a consistent application of the new economic approach and its mechanism, as well as on the basis of further perfecting socialist social relations.

In practical terms, this means the following:

1. The further development of the material and technical base must be subordinated to implementing the programmatic party slogan of "everything in the name of man, and everything for the good of man"; and to the creation of the prerequisite and conditions for the all-round development of every member of society.

In the eighth 5-year plan the national income must rise by 25-30 percent; in the ninth 5-year plan it must rise by 20-25 percent. In the next 10 years the growth of the national income must come as the result of higher social labor productivity.

2. The comprehensive intensification of the national economy and, on this basis, the further increase in the effectiveness and quality of public production, must be the main direction in the development of the production forces.

Increased intensiveness of science and reduced intensiveness of energy, material, capital and labor output must become the characteristic feature of the reproduction process.

Social labor productivity must increase by 30-35 percent in the eighth 5-year plan and, compared with 1980, must nearly double in 1990. In strategic production areas such as electronics, the metal processing industry, heavy machine building, low-volume chemistry and high grade metallurgy it must more than double.

In the eighth 5-year plan, profitability per 100 leva of productive assets in the national economy must rise by more than 50 percent.

3. Particular attention should be devoted to the accelerated introduction of the scientific-technical achievements of Bulgarian and foreign advanced experience during the eighth 5-year plan period.

The application of scientific and technical achievements must be accomplished, above all, in the following directions:

-Comprehensive mechanization of the production process and, particularly, of auxiliary activities such as plant transport, repairs, instrument facilities, and others which require large numbers of workers. As early as the eighth 5-year plan the share of manual, heavy-physical, harmful and unattractive labor must be substantially reduced in all economic sectors;

-Comprehensive production automation on the basis of the extensive application of electronics and robotics. In the enterprises, production facilities and sectors of decisive importance in our country, highly productive automated machines, lines and control systems must be extensively applied; the comprehensive automation of entire shops and, subsequently, entire plants, must be undertaken;

-Chemization of the national economy. We must insure the extensive use of chemical processes, technologies, goods and preparations for production intensification in all economic sectors;

-Biologization in the national economy. Biological methods, means and technologies must be applied ever more extensively on the basis of the rapid development of molecular biology, biochemistry, genetics, gene engineering, selection and industrial microbiology;

-Renovation of goods and their quality improvement, through the advancement of technologies, designs and models, and through improvements of functional, durability, esthetic and other indicators.

The perfection of standards must continue, the system of comprehensive standardization must be more widely applied. The effectiveness of control over production quality must improve, and necessary measuring instruments for the meteorological operation of technological processes must be provided for.

The utilization of leading domestic and foreign experience must be a major task in the application of scientific and technical progress in all sectors and activities. The movement of inventors and rationalizers must be developed further, and the utilization of their suggestions must be accelerated.

4. Particular attention must be paid to improving the socialist organization of labor so that, on this basis, the fullest and most effective utilization of the three elements of the reproduction process may be achieved: labor tools, labor means and labor.

The new type brigade organization of labor must become the basic form of organization in all material production sectors and an important factor in the systematic application of the new economic approach, the rapid application of scientific and technical achievements and the drastic improvement in production effectiveness. It must become a factor in developing a socialist attitude to labor, and better self-implementation of the individual within the workers' collective.

5. The skill of management and performing cadres must become consistent with the requirements of scientific and technical progress and modern production management.

The utilization of scientific and technical progress, the advancement of the socialist organization of labor and cadre training must be coordinated and made such as to insure improvements in labor quality in the industrial and nonindustrial areas.

6. Wasteless and low waste technologies must be applied, systems of recycling water supply must be introduced and scientific-technical achievements ensuring environmental protection and a comprehensive solution of ecological problems must be applied.

Particular attention must be devoted to the protection and increase of soil fertility by promoting systems and comprehensive measures for struggle against water and wind erosion, against swamps and salinization of the soil, and by accelerating the pace of recultivation and melioration of damaged areas.

We must most rationally use surface and underground waters, and care must be devoted to countering their pollution. A better utilization of the sea as a national resource must be implemented. Measures to improve the environment in the vicinity of big cities and industrial centers must be adopted. Noise and air pollution caused by automobile traffic and by certain industrial activities must be reduced. The construction of special installations for the purification of waste waters must be accelerated, and the processing of city garbage for useful purposes must be efficiently operated. The population's ecological culture must be improved.

7. The country's participation in socialist economic integration must be expanded and intensified as an important prerequisite for intensifying the national economy. The integration must be implemented on a bilateral and multilateral basis with the application of even more effective forms of cooperation.

Further Quality Changes in the Development of the Material and Technical Base of the National Economy

The material and technical base of the country must be developed on the basis of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress. The main path of its further development must go not only through its quantitative growth but,

above all, through qualitative improvement of current industrial-technical facilities with a view to insuring high social labor productivity and the production of high quality goods.

Progressive changes in the economic structure must be made in the eighth 5-year plan, characterized by the increased level of industrialization and faster development of sectors and production facilities insuring the intensification and harmonious development of the national economy, and the effective participation of the country in the international division of labor. The level of finished goods must be upgraded. The energy-raw material, financial and foreign exchange reserves of the country must be strengthened. Particular attention must be devoted to the maintenance and repair of equipment. The question of the production of spare parts must be comprehensively resolved.

The systematic application of the multiplication approach must lead to an optimum combination of the work of raw material and processing sectors, surmount arising disparities and improve proportionality in the development of various levels and sectors. Production concentration, specialization and cooperation must be carried out in such a way as to surmount sectorial, departmental, parochial and organizational restrictions.

Industry must retain its leading role in the development of the national economic complex.

In the eighth 5-year plan industrial output must rise by 30-35 percent. In the future as well, heavy industry must develop as the base of the economy. At the same time, a line of rapprochement between the rate of development in the heavy and light industry (group "A" and group "B") must be followed.

Labor productivity in industry must be raised by 36-38 percent.

We must insure the proportional development of the individual industrial sectors. Nomenclature and variety must be expanded and systematically renovated. Particular attention must be paid to the rapid development of the new structure-defining production facilities and goods.

Industrial production possibilities must be upgraded. Production costs must be lowered through the economical utilization of all resources, the increased shift coefficient and the improved utilization of the equipment, as well as through the improvement of the methods used in the organization of industrial output.

As the bottom line of the entire national economy, the energy-raw material base must be developed in the following direction:

-- The share of domestic primary energy-raw material sources must be increased and possibilities for insuring additional imported resources must be utilized more fully;

-- We must come closer to the global indicators of the extent and comprehensiveness of raw material utilization; a line of extensive application of wasteless and low-waste technologies must be extensively applied;

-- A line of relative reduction of power and material intensiveness of output, based on improved designs and the application of new materials and material substitutes and of new technologies, must be pursued;

-- We must insure the fuller utilization of all types of secondary raw materials by developing the necessary industrial base for their treatment;

-- Gradually, and in the ninth 5-year plan along a broad front, we must undertake the utilization of new types of raw and other materials developed on the basis of qualitatively new technological principles.

The further development of geological surveys must be based on contemporary methods, technologies and organizations. Efforts must be concentrated on prospecting for new deposits and reserves of oil and gas, coal, ore and nonmetallic mineral deposits, raw materials for nuclear energy and others. An optimal extraction of such deposits must be provided for.

The further development of the power industry must be ensured and the structure of the country's energy balance must be improved. The share of the electric power produced by the Aets must account for about 26 percent of the total in 1985 and 44 percent in 1990.

In the future as well, lignite, whose extraction will be increased mainly through the further expansion and modernization of the Maritsaiztok Complex, will remain the basic source of energy in the country. The study of the development of the Dobrudzha and Elkhovo coal basins must be accelerated.

Measures must be implemented for the utilization of geothermal and solar energy, and for the production of energy based on the direct transformation of the various kinds of energy.

Practical, scientific-technical programs for a decisive reduction of energy consumption in production, for greater efficiency in the structure of energy consumption and for the utilization of secondary energy resources must be implemented. Diesel-powered freight trucks must be introduced on a larger scale. The development of centralized heating systems must be pursued, and prerequisites must be created for the construction of nuclear heating installations.

In the eighth and ninth 5-year plan the main direction in ferrous metallurgy will be the accelerated development of the production of high quality and specialized steels and steel items, powder metallurgy and metal ceramics. The application of new technologies must be ensured for the production of structural, stainless and instrument carbon and nitrogen steels, electrical engineering steel, new types and brands of ferroalloys and modifiers. Particular attention must be paid to the introduction of technologies for vacuuming and steel processing using inert gases. The application of continuous steel casting technology must be increased.

On this basis the share of ferrous metals must be reduced and the percentage of locally produced rolled metals must be increased.

Ferrous metallurgy capacities must be further modernized, reconstructed and developed.

The development of nonferrous metallurgy must ensure the fuller satisfaction of national economic requirements for nonferrous metals and rolled goods. In the eighth 5-year plan the production of copper must be developed at a faster pace. Particular attention must be paid to upgrading the effectiveness of installed capacities through the use of oxygen in metallurgical processes, the utilization of gases poor in sulfur dioxide in the production of sulfuric acid, the advancement of electric smelting, the application of wasteless technologies and others. The highly effective autogenic technology must be applied in the production of black copper.

Technologies in the production of lead and zinc must be improved with a view to upgrading the level of extraction of lead and zinc and of other useful components contained in the ores.

New nonferrous metal ore deposits must be developed more rapidly. Existing capacities for the production of copper, brass, zinc and aluminum rolled pieces must be expanded in order to broaden variety and meet the needs of the machine building, electronic, construction and other sectors needing highly effective goods.

All metal waste must be used more fully.

In the area of nonmineral raw materials and fireproof materials, we must expand the extraction and engage in the comprehensive in-depth processing of kaolin, raw and baked gypsum, bentonite, quartz sand, rock-lining materials, and others. Conditions must be provided for expanding the extraction of high grade quartz and for its intensive treatment.

The role of the chemical industry in the expansion of the raw material base of the country and the fuller satisfaction of population requirements must be increased in the eighth 5-year plan and through 1990. Compared with 1980, by 1985 the production of chemicals must be increased by about one-half.

Fuller use must be made of initial raw materials through the application of new products, progressive methods and technologies. We must reduce the power intensiveness and enrich the variety of highly effective chemicals in demand domestically and internationally.

In the field of petrochemistry and petroleum refining we must increase the extent of petroleum and natural gas treatment. The variety of fuel and lubricating materials should be renewed. The production of polypropylene and of raw materials for polyurethanes and products made of them must be organized during the eighth 5-year plan period. The production of plastic material wrappings for transportation that can be used several times should be expanded.

Particular attention must be paid to developing low-volume chemistry for the purpose of mastering a broad variety of low-volume chemicals, dyes, catalytic agents, enzymes and pure and superpure substances for the purpose of intensifying output in various national economic sectors and increasing the variety of consumer goods.

The variety and quality of chemical staples must be enriched and improved.

We must continue to modernize existing capacities and build new capacities for the production of carbamide, ammonium nitrate and phosphorus fertilizers.

The production of plant insecticides must considerably expand with a view to fully covering the needs of the agricultural sector.

The development of the pharmaceutical and cosmetic industries and of phytochemicals must be continued at a faster pace. We must intensify the existing production of antibiotics for humanitarian purposes through the application of new and improved technologies.

The development of industrial microbiology created opportunities for the rapid increase in the country's resources of feed protein, the production of antibiotics for animal husbandry and of plant protection means. Enzymes and enzyme preparations must be extensively applied. On this basis new technologies must be introduced in the bread-baking, brewery and wine production industries, in the production of glucose from starch, in the textile and leather industries, in the production of washing detergents and so on.

We must resolve the problem of utilizing secondary chemical raw materials such as waste and byproducts of the processing of petroleum, tires, plastic waste, residual products in the production of polyamide fibers and fabrics and so on.

Machine building will continue to enjoy priority development in the eighth 5-year plan. The machine-building industry must ensure the retooling of its own material and technical base and the bases of the other economic sectors with high-productive automated machines and lines, machine systems and automated shops. In the eighth 5-year plan the sector's output must be increased by 50-55 percent.

Special attention must be paid to the harmonious development of the rear lines of the machine-building industry.

Higher labor productivity, lighter weight and improved quality of castings must be achieved through applying new materials and technologies. Precise pressing and dieing methods must be applied in hammer-press production.

Methods and means for the protection of metals against corrosion should be applied on a larger scale and used with greater efficiency.

The further development of the second level of the machine-building industry must be ensured on the basis of standardization. This applies to the production of hydraulic transmissions, engines, controlled bridges, power hydraulic equipment and precise assemblies for metal-processing machinery, instruments and instrument attachments, spare parts, and instrument sets.

The development of hydraulics and pneumatics must be concentrated on the fuller satisfaction of the need for hydraulically and pneumatically operated items and systems for transportation, heavy and agricultural machine building, metal processing, robot manufacturing, construction equipment and automation of technological processes.

High flexibility and adaptability must be ensured in the production of finished goods in accordance with the growing requirements of domestic consumption and exports. The level of mechanization and automation of assembly operations must be raised.

In the eighth 5-year plan and through 1990 heavy investment machine building must ensure the fuller satisfaction of the needs of the extracting, power, metallurgical, chemical, construction, food and other industrial sectors by supplying them with complete sets of systems, machines and equipment. Particular attention must be paid to designing and mastering one-of-a-kind machines and to sets of systems, machines and equipment in short supply on our market and whose production could be organized through effective international cooperation with other countries.

The base of shipbuilding must be developed. We must master the production of new highly effective, specialized and general purpose ships.

The production and utilization of industrial robots, manipulators and robot-using technological modules for the automation of hammer-press operations, the servicing of metal-cutting machines, and lining and welding automation processes must be increased. The share of machines with digital programming must be raised to 10-12 percent of the overall output of metal-processing machinery.

In the eighth 5-year plan we must ensure the accelerated development and production of new electronic and microelectronic elements and, on this basis, develop the production of electronic and electronized items whose application must be expanded in all sectors and activities of material production and services.

Conversion from individual electronic technical facilities and general purpose computers to the production and utilization of comprehensive electronic equipment and systems must become the basic line in the electronic industry.

We must expand production of contemporary microprocessor systems equipped with the necessary programs, of modern quasi-electronic and electronic automated telephone exchanges (ATTS), digital transfer systems and integrated office memory systems, in close cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries. We must accelerate the creation of memory systems based on new physical principles with technical and economic parameters which will guarantee competitiveness on the international marketplace.

Instrument manufacturing and the production of means to automate technological processes, based on programmed microprocessor control systems, means for telecontrol and remote control in railroad stations and junctions, electric power plants and so on, must be developed further.

The electrical engineering industry must produce modern electric power machines, systems and means for the effective production, distribution and utilization of electric power for the national economy and the population and master, on an accelerated basis, the entire range of high power engines with thyristor control for the produced digital programmed control systems for metal-processing machinery.

The production of a wide range of electrical and pneumatic instruments and equipment for mechanization of manual labor in industry and in the construction sector must be adopted.

The development of the construction materials industry must be made consistent with the requirements of the industrialization of construction output and scientific and technical progress. The people's construction requirements for various types of cement, bricks, tiles, lime, and inert and other materials must be satisfied better. The production of materials, items and structures with a higher level of prefabrication and improved technical-operational qualities must be expanded. Materials and items of chemical origin, secondary raw materials and waste from other production facilities must be applied extensively.

The production structure of the timber processing and cellulose-paper industries must be improved. Comprehensive utilization of timber must be ensured. The production of wood tiles, parts, paper, packaging and others must be developed at a faster pace. The use of wood must be reduced by increasing the utilization of wood substitutes and improving the design of goods. Maximum use must be made of recycled paper and the share of cellulose in the production of paper and cardboard must be reduced.

In the area of the forest economy we must pursue the accelerated growing of industrial crops of fast-maturing coniferous and deciduous timber species in order to increase our timber resources. We must continue the planting of new forests and the reconstruction of substandard ones. Conditions must be created to utilize timber growing in inaccessible mountain areas. Decisive improvements must be made in the mechanization and labor conditions in timber-growing activities and timber extraction. The building of forest roads must be increased.

Fuller use must be made of forest areas in the raising of domestic animals and game and the production of mushrooms, medicinal plants, forest fruits, fish and others.

The production of more and more varied and better quality consumer goods must become the primary task of all national economic sectors, economic organizations and enterprises regardless of the nature of their activities.

The solution of this problem requires the following:

The full utilization of installed capacities for the production of consumer goods; the organization of parallel production facilities, the creation of small and medium enterprises and the expansion of consumer goods shops and auxiliary farms.

In the eighth 5-year plan light industry production must increase by about 25-30 percent through steady renovation and expansion of variety. The shortage of mass industrial consumer goods must be rapidly surmounted and the production of new, luxury and fashionable goods increased. We must decisively increase variety and improve the quality of furniture. Stricter requirements must be formulated governing the quality and fashion of clothing and shoes, particularly for young men and women. We must considerably increase the production and improve the quality and variety of children's goods. The modernization of light industry enterprises must be continued and projects currently under construction must be commissioned faster.

In the eighth 5-year plan the food industry output must be increased by no less than 25 percent. Particular attention must be paid to rapidly increasing the production of food items in demand by the population and to improving the variety and quality and increasing the output of more finished and semifinished dishes and delicatessen goods sold by the commercial network and in public catering and for household use. The production of food for children and diet food must be developed at a faster pace. We must increase the production of prepackaged goods and apply new types of packaging and containers which ensure the lengthy storing of food products.

Local industry must improve the quality and variety of goods and rapidly increase the production of small items and goods for children and of souvenirs and items for home furnishing. The system of work at home and using the work of housewives, the retired and rehabilitated and of the rural population in periods of less intensive work must be expanded.

In the eighth 5-year plan the volume of agricultural output must be increased by 20-22 percent by ensuring the further improvement of the production structure and the use of industrial technology. Animal husbandry output must be increased at a faster pace.

The rapid increase in the production of grain and its most rational utilization must become the strategic task of the eighth 5-year plan. By the end of the 5-year plan the annual production of bakery and feed grain must reach 10.5-11 million tons. Areas planted in sugar beets, sunflowers, grapes, tobacco and others must be expanded.

The production of fruits and vegetables must be developed with a view to satisfying population requirements on a year-round basis as well as in accordance with the specialization and cooperation among socialist countries and the effectiveness of commodity exports.

Extensive use must be made of highly intensive crop rotations and of essentially new soil cultivation technologies and in growing and using produce. Particular attention must be paid to the rapid application of technologies for minimum shallow and profound nonturning cultivation, precise and direct sowing, the accomplishment of several operations with a single tractor run and others.

Existing strains must be improved and new high-yield strains and hybrid crops must be developed with improved genetic possibilities, resistance to diseases, pests and drought, and suitable for the application of industrial growing and harvesting technologies.

The necessary measures must be implemented to develop and utilize abandoned and neglected land particularly in mountainous and semimountainous areas. Control over the efficient utilization of the soil must be intensified.

A policy of drastic increase in the quantity and quality of production in the animal husbandry sector should be implemented by optimally coordinating the number, productivity, fodder supply and effectiveness in production of all animals. Hog and poultry breeding must be focused, above all, on satisfying the country's

domestic requirements for pork and poultry meat. We must ensure the effective utilization of semimountainous and mountainous areas in the country to pasture livestock through the creation of modern pasture complexes and suitable conditions for the life of the shepherds.

The development of domestic and the importation of foreign breeds and crossbreeds of highly productive livestock and poultry, resistant to diseases and suitable for industrial raising must be accelerated in order to improve animal husbandry effectiveness. Decisive measures must be taken to reduce livestock mortality.

Feed production must meet the needs of animal husbandry through the development and application of new technologies and recipes for the production of highly effective mixed feeds. The nutrition types and technologies for the feeding of livestock must be improved. Outlays of fodder units and of concentrated fodder per unit of output must be reduced. In the very first years of the 5-year plan ruminant animals must be converted to rich low-concentration standardized feeding based on scientific norms. The entire quantity of feed grain must be used in high quality balanced mixes in accordance with the highest world standards. The effective utilization of the grain must be greatly increased. The quality and quantity of rough and fresh feeds must be improved, above all by raising clover, silage corn and meadow crops. The protein problem must be resolved on a durable and systematic basis by increasing vegetal resources and using valuable waste and microbial proteins.

Necessary measures must be taken for the technical retooling of agriculture with a view to its further conversion to an industrial base. The strategic directions to be followed in crop growing and animal husbandry are to give priority to highly productive machine and technological line systems. Necessary soil cultivation and sowing equipment must be procured, particularly harvesting machines for grain, vegetables, fruits and industrial crops, as well as equipment suitable for semimountainous and mountainous areas.

The effectiveness of irrigated farming must be upgraded as the main possibility of increasing yields per unit area. In this connection the existing irrigation systems must be updated and reconstructed. New irrigated areas must be developed mainly on the basis of existing water reservoirs. In the eighth 5-year plan about 850,000 additional decarees must be irrigated. About 1 million decarees of irrigated land must be reconstructed and modernized, and 400,000 decarees must be drained. New highly productive and more compressed crop rotation systems must be applied. An effective crop structure must be developed in order to obtain maximum yields per decare of irrigated land.

Agriculture must be better supplied with fertilizers, preparations, and biological stimulators based on scientific norms. We must convert to the extensive use of highly concentrated slow-acting granulated fertilizers and highly effective herbicides and preparations. We must organize the more extensive and comprehensive struggle against weeds and pests through the use of combined plant protection methods, including biological ways and means.

We must upgrade the effectiveness and expand the system of protecting farm crops from hail.

In order to ensure even better the needs of the population in conurbation systems for food products we must expand and upgrade the role of self-supply by using to a maximum extent public, auxiliary and private farms.

We must improve the system of purchasing and storing agricultural products. Fruit storage areas, and warehouses and refrigerated facilities must be built in the basic areas. Direct relations between agro-industrial complexes and the marketplace must be expanded. Conditions must be created and specific measures undertaken for staffing agriculture with performing and managerial cadres and for improving their professional training.

The basic task of the transportation system is to ensure the full and rhythmical satisfaction of the needs of the national economy and the population for transportation by upgrading the level of utilization of transport facilities and improving the quality of transport services.

Compared with 1980, in 1985 freight haulage must be 20 percent higher while passenger transportation must be raised by about 10 percent.

The structure of the transportation system must be improved and its effectiveness must be upgraded through coordinating and integrating various transport systems. To this effect we must ensure the rapid modernization and technical advance of the transportation system. Specialization and concentration in transport activities must be developed by continuing to develop and apply new technologies and modern ways and means of managing processes and activities in all types of transportation. The material and technical base to repair and maintain transport facilities must be developed and modernized. Railroad and highway networks must also be developed and modernized.

Greater attention must be paid to upgrading the reliability and safety of all transport systems. The introduction of automated traffic-control systems and systems for the comprehensive mechanization of loading and unloading operations must be accelerated.

Priority must be given to rail transportation compared with the other types of transportation with a view to enabling it to undertake the full haulage of mass freight and most passengers for medium and long distances and a considerable share of suburban and workers travel. In the eighth 5-year plan 650-700 kilometers of tracks must be electrified and over 400 kilometers of railroad tracks must be doubled. The main railroad stations must be modernized and expanded.

The development of water transport must be continued by maintaining the competitiveness of the structure and specialization of the ships.

In the field of automotive transportation the average load capacity of trucks and trailers must be increased. By the end of the eighth 5-year plan 65-70 percent of the trucks must be equipped with diesel engines. Truck runs must be increased in the area of international automotive transportation and combined landwater transportation systems must be applied. Air transport must be developed mainly for international passenger and freight haulage.

Particular attention must be devoted to introducing containers and automatic pallet loaders in freight transport and to its adaptation to mechanization in handling total transportation processes.

The development of the republic's road network must be continued through reconstruction of main and first-class roads and building a circumferential highway.

The development of transportation with electric power must be accelerated in the capital and the major okrug centers.

Particular attention must be paid to expanding transport relations with the USSR and the other countries with which Bulgaria maintains extensive and intensive trade.

In the eighth 5-year plan communications must be developed on the basis of extensively applying the achievements of scientific and technical progress with a view to considerably expanding their coverage and improving the quality of all types of postal and communications services to the national economy and the population.

The number of installed telephone sets must be increased by 40-45 percent. The level of automation of interurban telephone communications must be raised. We must resolve the problem of the full and qualitative coverage of the country's territory with national radio and television channels by building powerful radio and television transmitters and relay centers.

Investment policy must be consistent with the task of modernizing and reconstructing existing capacities and upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments.

The amount of capital investments must be strictly consistent with the material, financial, manpower and foreign exchange potential of the country. There must be no imbalances, waste of funds and freezing of the national income in unfinished construction projects.

In the eighth 5-year plan the volume of capital investments will total about 38 billion leva. About 70 percent of the capital investments in the material area must be channeled into modernization and reconstruction, based on the application of the latest achievements in the areas of technology, equipment and labor organization. The expansion of existing capacities and, particularly, new construction must be undertaken only if the potential of modernizing and reconstructing production facilities have been exhausted and when acting production facilities are operating at full capacity.

The construction-installation and design organizations must reorganize their activities in accordance with the main trend in the development of the material and technical base: modernization and reconstruction.

Deadlines for the building and commissioning of capital investments must be shortened. Expenditures must be reduced and the quality of construction and installation projects, improved. On this basis, by 1985 the volume of unfinished construction in the materials area must not exceed 80 percent and in the nonindustrial area, 70 percent. The architectural-construction share of production projects must not exceed 30 percent of their cost.

The further intensification of construction must be ensured through high level industrialization of processes related to the manufacturing and assembling of parts, items, structures and systems; complex mechanization and automation of construction-installation projects; mandatory building of projects on the basis of written technologies; concentration and specialization in the development of the production-industrial construction base; and standardization and uniformity of parts, assemblies and structures.

Planning must become the basis for applying the achievements of science, technical progress and leading foreign and domestic experience in the course of implementing the investment process, with a view to shortening construction time and ensuring the high productivity of operating capacities. Designing must be improved mainly through the utilization of standardized systems based on catalog systems and unified lists of elements, assemblies, parts and structures.

The further territorial deployment of production forces must be focused on the development of a type of territorial public production organization which would ensure reaching high economic, social and ecological results benefiting the national economy and create conditions for equalizing the levels of socioeconomic development of territorial units. We must adopt a general scheme for the territorial deployment of productive forces and accelerate the construction of the material-technical base of conurbation systems.

The harmonious development and conversion of Sofia into a model socialist capital must become the concern of all party, state, economic and public organs and organizations.

On Social Policy and Further Enhancing the People's Living Standard

The fuller satisfaction of the needs of the people for comestible and durable goods and services must be ensured on the basis of intensively developing the economy and rapidly upgrading public production effectiveness. Commodity stocks and services for the population must be increased at a faster pace, compared with purchasing power. This must be achieved by improving the structure of commodity stocks.

Real income must be raised by 16-18 percent. The main source for this rise must be wages earned in accordance with the quantity and quality of invested labor. The average annual wage must be raised from 2,185 leva in 1980 to about 2,500 leva in 1985. By 1985 the minimum monthly wage must reach 120 leva, by introducing appropriate changes and perfecting mutual relations in pay roll and tariff wages.

In the eighth 5-year plan retail trade must increase 20-22 percent. We must continue the line of improving the structure of trade by increasing the absolute and relative amount of service and durable goods and, particularly, of high quality durable goods. We must satisfy the increased esthetic needs of the people. The use of alcohol, tobacco and other must be restricted.

With the very beginning of the eighth 5-year plan we must ensure the more rhythmical supply of the domestic marketplace with all types of fruit and vegetables, meat, meat products, sugar, confectionery goods, milk, dairy products, vegetable

oils, eggs, pantry goods, fish, fish products, rice, nonalcoholic beverages, mineral waters, washing detergents, household electrical appliances, electric power materials, furniture, carpets, rugs, flooring, construction materials, goods and foods for babies and children, goods for young people, and others. The market must offer a greater variety of snacks and of precooked and semicooked dishes. The quality and variety of bread and bakery goods must be decisively improved.

Priority must be given to producing and importing goods which facilitate and save household chores and rationalize home cooking.

The growth of public consumption funds must be consistent with the growth of the national income. The use of such funds must be based on applying and approach toward their socioeconomic effectiveness. On this basis we must expand and improve the base for education, health care, culture, recreation, sports, tourism and the mass information media. Priority must be given to developing the material and technical base of education with a view to ensuring its quality improvement. In the other nonproduction activities funds must be allocated above all, for the modernization and technical retooling of their base. The agrarian-industrial complexes, the enterprises, the combines and the other economic organizations must actively participate with their funds in implementing these measures.

Compensations for temporary disability must be increased. The minimum pension must be raised to the level of one-half of the minimum wage.

Additional measures must be taken to encourage the birth rate. Better conditions must be created for combining motherhood with the active participation of women in work and social activities. An ever larger share of the maintenance of the growing generation must be absorbed by society and the number of seats in children's institutions must be increased.

Young people must be the subject of systematic concern, based on the specific nature of their requirements and interests. The necessary prerequisites and conditions for their comprehensive and highly effective development must be created.

Measures must be taken for the full inclusion in labor activities and in social life of individuals with reduced labor capacity.

The policy of social aid and concern for the elderly must be continued and the bases for social needs must be expanded. A social security bill should also be adopted.

The further development of trade must be ensured. To this effect we must:

- Improve trade management. Direct relations must be established between the production process and the marketplace on an economic basis;

- Resolve problems related to warehousing, refrigerated areas, fruit storage areas, specialized transport facilities and the production of high grade containers. This will ensure the rhythmical year-round supply of the population with fresh fruits, vegetables and other comestible goods;

-- Apply modern methods to study and forecast consumer demand and direct at the proper time the production process to meet consumer demand. The network of firm-name stores must be expanded. They must improve their activities as centers for the study of consumer demand;

-- Improve standards in trade services by upgrading the skills of trade workers and intensify educational work among them;

-- Apply more extensively progressive forms such as self-service, sales based on samples and catalogs, delivery of goods at home and others;

-- Improve advertising which would educate and inform consumers accurately and quickly and develop new needs.

Public catering must be developed faster by integrating it with the food industry. The means and standards of services must be made more varied. Resources and material and technical facilities must be used effectively and Bulgarian national dishes must be offered most extensively. The number of vegetarian, dietetic and specialized restaurants must be considerably increased in the large cities.

Cafeteria feeding of the population must be expanded. By the end of 1985 conditions must be created for the organized feeding of about 65 percent of the workers and employees. Particular attention must be paid to dietetic and prophylactic nutrition. Enterprise cafeterias must increase the share of goods grown by their own auxiliary farms as an important alternative for reducing the cost and improving the variety of food served.

Particular attention must be paid to student cafeterias, based on the requirements of the scientific nutrition of the individual age groups. The building of children's kitchens must be accelerated, to provide service to children's institutions of a given area and to also prepare food for children who are not attending such institutions.

Together with the health institutes a system of rational nutrition of the Bulgarian people must be elaborated and gradually applied.

As a public economic organization, the Central Cooperative Union will continue to work for the fuller utilization of the country's material and social resources and the fuller satisfaction of human needs.

Consumer services must be developed with a view to ensuring fuller satisfaction of the people's requirements. The structure must be improved by developing at a faster pace services related to furnishing, maintaining and repairing housing; motor vehicle repair, household equipment, television and radio sets; dry cleaning and washing.

The application of the latest forms of consumer services must be expanded, such as the combined acceptance of orders by subscription for services at home and at the place of work, self-service, rentals, exchanges, and others.

New service establishments must be created mainly in the immediate vicinity of enterprises in order to serve the labor collectives and in the ground floors of residential blocks. Industrial enterprises, agro-industrial complexes and construction and transportation organizations must also concentrate on opening institutions providing services to their labor collectives and other citizens.

The quality of services must be considerably upgraded and their timely completion guaranteed. Service workshops and centers must be opened at department and other larger stores in order to help citizens to assemble durable goods they have purchased and satisfy individual customer requirements.

Retired people, housewives, students, workers and employees, specialists and certified private craftsmen must be recruited for consumer services by increasing the variety of methods through which their labor can be applied in providing services to the citizens.

The self-service movement must be expanded on the basis of the "do it yourself" system by organizing the sale of more and more varied materials, semifinished goods, parts, spare parts, instruments and attachments.

The use of modern forms of administrative services must be expanded, such as cashless payments and the use of enterprise or establishment services in providing administrative services to the citizens at their place of work.

Communal activities must be developed even faster: water mains, sewer lines, electric power supplies, heat supplies, landscaping, cleaning of settlements, and road and street paving.

The hygienic conditions of the settlements must be improved.

Measures must be taken to improve city and interurban transportation. Particular attention must be paid to synchronizing the work of the transportation system with the working time of the working people. The forms of the transport services must be improved: transportation based on advance requests, subscriptions, organized transportation of children from their homes to children's institutions and back, rapid transit lines, and others.

The organization and standard of trade and communal-consumer services in the capital must be made consistent with growing requirements more rapidly. The lagging in the building of the material and technical base must be surmounted in the eighth 5-year plan through its modernization, reconstruction and expansion. The number of work shifts must increase and more efficient territorial deployment of institutions for trade and communal services by districts and rayons in the capital must be achieved. The professional training of the personnel engaged in such activities must be upgraded and the hiring of new cadres must be increased.

With a view to improving supplies of the population in the capital with fresh fruits, vegetables, meat and milk, as well as that of the neighboring okrugs, the area of the fruit-vegetable and animal husbandry belt around Sofia must be expanded faster.

Health care must be developed further and its social and economic effectiveness must be upgraded. Conditions must be created for comprehensive improvement of health and the increased labor capacity and creative longevity of the people. The national health bill must be perfected.

Primary concern must be devoted to the development of preventive treatment:

- Particular attention must be paid to labor hygiene and to reducing the risk factors in the workplaces and in the individual professions in which currently the morbidity level is relatively high;
- Comprehensive measures must be implemented to improve the hygiene of housing, settlements, industrial enterprises, schools and other public institutions;
- The system of upgrading the health standard of the population must be improved;
- The ways and means for the prevention and treatment of communicable diseases must be improved; particular attention must be paid to the struggle against epidemics.

Decisive improvements must be made in the living conditions and care for patients in hospitals; in the course of the 5-year plan the system of two-step services in all hospitals must be introduced. The organization and quality of diagnostic, treatment, and recovery activities in all health institutions must reach a higher standard. Dental treatment must also be improved.

Conditions must be created to further expand the health care offered mother and children and to protect the health of students.

An overall system to intensively utilize mineral waters, medicinal mud, peat and medicinal plants, covering the entire country, must be elaborated.

The quality of expert examinations of temporary and permanent partial disability must be upgraded with a view to ensuring the most efficient utilization of residual labor capacity.

The development of the material and technical base of health care must be accelerated, particular concern must be shown for the procurement of modern medical equipment and the building of medical institutions in the capital and the okrug and industrial centers. The enterprises' participation in building a material base for the worker's health protection must be expanded.

Between 1981 and 1985 the recreation, mass sport and tourism system must be developed further.

Rest must become the concern of all enterprises, agroindustrial complexes, economic organizations, ministries, departments and conurbation systems. Its social effectiveness must be upgraded by giving priority in the allocation of rest cards to leading production workers and to those who have made the greatest contribution to upgrading the effectiveness of their worker's collective and to those chronically ill who have been hospitalized. The existing facilities for recreation

and economic and mass tourism must be used on a year-round and a most rational basis through unification and modernization. New rest homes must be built and developed as cultural and treatment-sports complexes. Recreation and tourism conditions for children, and secondary school and university students must be improved. Tourist cabins must be used in both winter and summer vacation periods.

Particular attention must be paid to further developing physical culture and sports. The main point in the activity of the Bulgarian Union for Physical Culture and Sports, the Bulgarian Tourist Union and of the Bulgarian Automobile Union must be the involvement of all working people, children, students and young people above all, in systematic physical culture and sports occupation as a permanent feature of the socialist way of life. To this effect a nationwide long-term target program must be elaborated. The existing material facilities must be used more completely and the building of new facilities must be continued, particularly of outdoor playgrounds and installations at work or at home, within the framework of the conurbation systems.

Fuller satisfaction of the people's housing needs must be ensured.

A total of 400,000 new housing units must be built in the eighth 5-year plan and no less than 450,000 in the ninth. The quality of housing construction must be improved. The simultaneous opening of stores and installation of heating and other systems must be ensured. State housing construction must be concentrated mainly in Sofia and in the large okrug centers and industrial areas. The participation of labor collectives in enterprises and agroindustrial complexes and of new home buyers must be increased in the area of housing construction. The reconstruction of existing housing facilities must be expanded through expansions, additions, and others. The housing facilities near cities and major industrial sites must be utilized more fully.

The system of housing allocations must be improved. Priority must be given to young and homeless families.

Comprehensive concern must be shown in improving the household environment and way of life as a major social factor in the development of economic and spiritual-moral relations in the course of asserting the socialist way of life. The domestic environment must be promoted even more actively as a factor in the development of a new attitude toward labor and the communist upbringing of the new man.

Particular concern must be paid to improving working conditions. Efforts must be focused above all on reducing and eliminating adverse working conditions rather than merely compensating for their adverse consequences. Labor physiology, psychology and sociology requirements and ergonomics must be taken into consideration in the reconstruction and modernization of existing and the designing and building of new capacities.

Wasteless and waste-free technologies and scientific and technical achievements must be applied in environmental protection such as to ensure the comprehensive solution of ecological problems.

Particular attention must be paid to preserving and upgrading the fertility of the land through implementing systematic and comprehensive measures in the struggle against water and wind erosion and the swamping and salinization of the soil. The pace of recultivation and reclamation of damaged soils must be accelerated.

Surface and ground waters must be utilized most rationally and care must be taken to protect their cleanliness.

Measures must be implemented to improve the environment of cities and industrial areas, to restrict noise, to lower air pollution caused by automotive transportation and some industrial activities, to accelerate the building of water treatment stations, to ensure the rational utilization of city waste and others.

Development of the Country's Foreign Economic Relations

Foreign economic policy in the eighth 5-year plan and through 1990 must be focused on upgrading the effectiveness of foreign economic activities and on most closely connecting production with the requirements of the international marketplace.

Economic integration and scientific and technical cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries must be intensified and developed even further. The long term expansion and intensification of production specialization and cooperation, and the implementation of the comprehensive and long term target cooperation programs must remain the main direction in the development of cooperation.

Conditions must be created and specific measures taken for the overall implementation of the general plan for specialization and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR in material production through 1990.

In the course of this decade the foreign economic relations between our country and the developed capitalist countries must be expanded and intensified on an equal and mutually profitable basis.

We must systematically pursue a line of accelerated development of foreign economic relations with the developing countries.

Foreign economic relations with the Balkan countries must continue to develop and increase on a mutually profitable basis.

In the eighth 5-year plan, foreign trade must be increased by about 40 percent. The share of goods traded on the basis of specialized and cooperation activities must be increased.

In the exports sector, a policy of further perfecting the country's exports list is being implemented by decisively ensuring priority to the export of high quality and competitive goods.

In the area of imports, a line of strict economy of foreign exchange must be followed in supplying the country with the necessary fuels, raw and other materials and highly productive equipment. Imports of a variety of high quality consumer goods must be ensured.

Engineering, construction, licensing and transport activities conducted in foreign countries must be developed.

In international tourism particular attention should be paid to the intensive utilization of the material-technical base throughout the year, additional services should be decisively improved, sightseeing tours, mountaineering and hiking for health purposes should be further developed. The effectiveness of foreign exchange incomes should be increased on this basis.

Improving National Economic Management

In the eighth 5-year plan the line of coordinating national economic management with the new public production scale, the comprehensive intensification of the economy and the requirements of scientific and technical progress must be implemented even more consistently.

The systematic and overall application of the new economic approach in the management of all realms of socioeconomic life must be the main direction in improving economic management. Particular attention must be paid to the implementation of measures related to the comprehensive functioning of the new economic mechanism and the intensification of its influence on accelerating scientific and technical progress, work effectiveness and quality everywhere and by everyone.

Efforts to ensure further improving the planning system must be continued, for it is the main feature of national economic management. We must upgrade the role of the 5-year plan and improve the 2-year current planning system. Each enterprise and economic organization must operate on the basis of the long term standards and criteria included in the national programs for the socioeconomic development of the country and in the 5-year plan.

Social planning work must be improved decisively.

The line of increasing democracy in planning must be followed in the future as well. Counterplanning must be promoted and improved. Economic organizations must be freed from petty supervision in the formulation and implementation of counterplans. Centralism and democracy must be combined in such a way as to offer even greater scope for the initiative, creativity and high activeness of labor collectives, specialists and economic workers.

The programmatic approach should be used on a larger scale in planning and in the planned economy.

The expenditure norms for material, energy, manpower and other production resources must be updated in conformity with the newly existing technological, technical and organizational production and working conditions.

We must decisively improve work connected with social planning. Counterplanning must be adopted and perfected in the future. The economic organizations must be freed of tutelage in compiling and fulfilling their counterplans. Centralism and decentralization must be coordinated so as to make possible a greater expansion of self-initiative, creative spirit, and great efforts of the workers collectives,

specialists and economic leaders so that they may assert themselves even more strongly as the true masters of the land, the technical equipment, the factories and plants.

The implementation of the plan must be ensured mainly through the direct contractual relations among economic organizations and through the means for economic influence applied by the state. This includes economic incentives and penalties. Overall planning management must be based on the principle that what is needed by society must be consistent with the interests of the labor collectives and the individual working people. Greater stability must be given to the state planning assignments issued to economic organizations and their branches. At the same time, their counterplans must become truly open and dynamic plans which they can change by themselves in accordance with newly discovered possibilities or changes in the production and marketing of their goods.

Commodity-monetary relations must be most fully used in planning and management. Total cost effectiveness and self-financing must be systematically applied by all economic organizations, branches, brigades and social activities. The management of the nonindustrial area must be equally reorganized in accordance with the requirements of the new economic approach, taking into consideration the specific nature of individual activities.

Each collective and individual worker must behave as the true owner of the property entrusted to him by the state. The observance of a strict regime of economy must become the content and guiding principle at all social management levels. Each leva that is spent must yield effective returns.

The role of profits in overall economic and social activities must be enhanced. Profit must become the criterion of the effectiveness of production-economic activities and the basis for the organization of distribution processes. Measures must be taken to terminate the production of unprofitable goods for export and for the gradual elimination of budget subsidies for goods produced for the domestic market.

The role of financial-credit levers such as prices, credits, taxes, bonuses, ceilings and others must be enhanced.

The financial-credit system must have an even more direct and dynamic impact on the successful development of the economy, the intensification of savings and the strengthening of financial discipline. The state budget must be reorganized as a system of target funds collected and expended on the basis of long term norms. Loans and interest must become active tools in the practical implementation of the basic ratios stipulated in the plan and budget, and in the accelerated application of scientific and technical progress and reaching high multiplication results. The banks must act not only as an agent but also as the associate of economic organizations and, together with them, be held materially liable for end results.

We must continue to improve the socialist principle of payments based on the quantity and quality of the labor invested and on the basis of the application of international cost effectiveness and the improvement of the socialist organization of labor. We must comprehensively and systematically observe the requirement

that everyone, wherever he may be, must earn his wages. One of the basic principles of the new economic mechanism, according to which the wage fund is the result of subtracting from the general income the profit needed for insuring normative payments to the budget and financing expanded socialist reproduction must be applied systematically and even more extensively. Organizations and labor collectives which give high quality work, raise social labor productivity and have a higher income must be given the right to pay higher wages. The equalization elements must be eliminated in the distribution of the wage fund within economic organizations and brigades.

The style and method of economic management must be improved. The economic result of the activities of the economic system managed and the ways and means to achieve them must become the criteria for assessing the work of administrative cadres.

The observance of state planning, financial, technological and labor discipline must be insured. More extensive use must be made of the various forms of material, moral and administrative measures used toward those who violate discipline. One-man command in the management of socialist organizations must be strengthened and developed on the basis of democratic centralism.

The organizational structure of economic management must be improved. All bureaucratic and duplicating units which are not involved in economic management and are unrelated to the economic interests within the reproduction process must be eliminated along the entire chain from top to bottom as well as horizontally.

A line of conversion to a two-step management structure and of the development of economic combines as the basic structural unit in the organization and direct management of production, applied engineering, supply and marketing activities must be pursued steadfastly. The development and strengthening of the combine form must rest on an economic foundation and be consistent with the requirements of the multiplication approach.

The area must be broadened and the mechanism improved for voluntary associations among economic organizations and economic companies engaged in joint economic activities. Other suitable forms of organization of direct producers must be sought in all economic sectors and in the nonproduction area.

The system of material and technical supplies must be improved and totally converted to a commercial base.

The reorganization of the foreign and domestic trade system must be accelerated with a view to the closer and more effective linking of the production process with the marketplace.

The restructuring of the organization and management of the investment process must be completed. The management of transportation activities in the country as a single economic system must be advanced.

The activities of the state committee for planning and of the other functional industries must be made fully consistent with the requirements of the economic approach. The necessary changes must be introduced in the functions and tasks of economic ministries and departments.

The organization of administrative work must be improved and its effectiveness should be increased. The application of management technologies and procedures ensuring the proper demarcation of the functions of the individual units, the elimination of duplication in their activities and the optimizing of their information ties must be accelerated at all management levels. On this basis automated control systems must be developed more rapidly, and effective control must be exercised on the implementation of decisions.

III. Development of Science, Artistic Culture, Education and Mass Information Media

The seventh 5-year plan was a fruitful period in the development of science, artistic culture, education and mass information media. A new major step was taken in the establishment of a highly developed system of spiritual life which is strongly influencing the overall development of our society and the shaping of the new socialist individual. Our intelligentsia is united and firmly rallied around the Leninist April policy of the BCP.

In accordance with the Leninist principles of management and the progressive traditions of the past, the socio-state and state-societal principle in the guidance of spiritual life was established as a vital and promising method. Combined with the comprehensive approach, and taking into consideration the specific nature of spiritual life, the new economic mechanism is being systematically applied. Integration relations are being strengthened among science, artistic culture, education and mass information media. The contribution of these are to the spiritual exchange among nations and in the international ideological struggle is growing. Cooperation has intensified with the corresponding organizations in the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries.

The role of science in the implementation of basic socioeconomic and cultural tasks was intensified in the seventh 5-year plan. Scientific policy is based on the strategic directions followed by the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. The structure of the scientific front was improved. Institutes were opened in new fields of science together with applied engineering organizations for the purpose of directly linking scientific research with practical work. Ever more clearly the scientific front is being directed toward the solution of topical problems.

Artistic culture has reached a new height characterized by the growing role and possibility of resolving substantially larger and more complex problems on the basis of consistent class-party positions. Broad comprehensive programs for nationwide esthetic upbringing, for the harmonious development of individuals and for the Peace Banner International Assembly are being successfully implemented. Our cultural front is making a worthy contribution to the enhancement of Bulgarian international prestige.

Major accomplishments were achieved in the artistic recreation of our socialist time. Artistic creativity has been enriched with new topics. Its ability to encompass life in its complexity and factual variety, to penetrate more profoundly into the spiritual world of man and to interpret the dialectical unity of the past, the present and the future was broadened. A lasting trend has developed

of growing artistic skills, innovative searches in all arts and increased variety of styles and creative individualities. This is another confirmation of the vitality and the tremendous aesthetic opportunities offered by socialist realism.

Definite progress was achieved in all forms and levels of education. Today 76 percent of all children aged from three to seven attend kindergartens; 55 percent attend full-day kindergartens alone. The conversion to universal secondary education is being successfully accomplished. The higher education system has become richer.

The BCP Central Committee approved theses on the reorganization of the educational system as a strategic program for its further development. The state-public management principle was introduced. The first public education congress was held. The initial steps were taken to improve curriculums and training methods.

The social role of the mass information media, as an exceptionally important sector of the party's ideological front, was enhanced. Their topics are being related more closely with the basic problems of building a developed socialist society. The scope of printed and radio-television propaganda was broadened. News related to the building of socialism and international life are supplied more promptly. The professional skill of cadres working in mass information and propaganda media is rising.

The new period of building mature socialism as well as the existence of some unresolved problems require the further steady enrichment of spiritual life and the enhancement of its role in the intensification of the national economy and the development of a socialist personality.

Many areas of spiritual life still lack the necessary organization and atmosphere for the full utilization of the existing potential and for its proper channeling toward the solution of topical and significant problems of the building of socialism and the enrichment of spiritual values. In some of these areas insufficient concern is being shown for the upbringing and advancement of young capable cadres. Scientific and artistic criticism is not on the necessary level.

Scientific Development

In the eighth 5-year plan and through 1990 the efforts on the scientific front must be focused, above all, on raising the technical-economic, technological and organizational standards of the production process and its intellectualization, in accordance with the leading achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, the rapid increase of social labor productivity, the further advancement of socialist social relations, the enhancement of the scientific level of social management and the molding of the socialist personality.

The solution of this problem demands highly effective studies and developments, and the maximum utilization of our leading experience, optimally combined with the study, mastering and application of peak foreign scientific and technical accomplishments.

Scientific research in the technical, natural and social sciences must be focused on important basic and applied comprehensive problems in order to insure the following:

-- The comprehensive automation of technological processes and of the production process through the use of computers, industrial robots and manipulators; the use of electronics in industry, management and domestic life; extensive mechanization of labor-intensive processes;

-- The accelerated development of the production of computers and of a modern element base and, above all, of microprocessors, optical-electronic and laser equipment, digital communications systems, high level electric-powered drives and digital programmed controls of hydraulic and compressed air equipment; development of programs and their industrialization;

-- The creation of highly productive multifunctional machines and flexible assembly lines through the extensive application of the module principle, and the breakdown of the production process into the manufacturing of assemblies and parts; drastic lowering of material intensiveness, energy consumption and labor intensiveness of equipment produced;

-- The development of new metal alloys, powder-metallurgy goods, pure metals and new brands of steel; alloying ferrous and some nonferrous metals with nitrogen based on the methods for the processing of materials with gas counterpressures; refining liquid metals with bases and others;

-- The discovery of new deposits of useful minerals, analysis and comprehensive evaluation of surface and underground water and water power resources. More effective utilization of local raw materials and, particularly, of replenishable natural resources; energy conservation; elaboration and application of new thermal energy technologies and fuel mixes for upgrading effectiveness in the utilization of local energy resources and of technologies and elements for the transformation and utilization of solar energy, thermal waters and wind power;

-- The creation and application of new and improved, more effective industrial catalysts; the development of methods for the effective protection of metals and alloys from corrosion; the mastering of new and improved technologies for the manufacturing of chemical products and semifinished products and of methods for synthesizing particularly necessary reagents and preparations with improved purity and special properties, and of more advanced technological processes for the comprehensive utilization of raw materials and waste products of the chemical and other industries; development of small-volume chemicals, including products for domestic use;

-- The development and more extensive application of highly effective technologies based on contemporary biological achievements to meet national economic requirements; further studies of problems of molecular biology and genetics, protein biosynthesis, application of the methods of gene and cellular engineering and immunization chemistry and of biological environmental protection methods;

-- The further solution of problems related to cardiovascular diseases, malignant formations, problems of man and his habitat, medical-social aspects of population reproduction, labor hygiene, treatment of professional and acute contagious diseases, and rational nutrition;

-- The intensified study of the principles and laws governing the building of mature socialism in our country; elaboration of scientific suggestions to be used for the improvement of social management, the socialist organization of labor, the planned management of the economy and the intensification of production and the other areas on the basis of scientific and technical progress, giving priority to the corresponding social activities;

-- The comprehensive study of our rich cultural-historical legacy most closely interrelated with the cultural development and achievements of other civilizations, countries and nations;

-- The complex study of problems related to the development and self-development of man with a view to the maximum increase and utilization of man's physical, mental and spiritual forces;

-- To upgrade the effectiveness of Marxist-Leninist education of the working people and of the struggle against negative phenomena, bourgeois ideology and revisionist propaganda, and to expose the policy of imperialism and Maoism;

-- To study the laws governing the development and strengthening of the socialist community and of the socialist integration of the international communists, workers and national-liberation movements and the global revolutionary process.

Primary attention must be paid to basic research. Timely conditions must be created for the development of new scientific areas and directions. Particular attention must be paid to surmounting the major lagging of the economic sciences which must be connected most closely with the work of party, state and economic organs and organizations.

The management and administration of the scientific front must be improved. Its intensive development must be ensured through improvements in the organization, quality and effectiveness of scientific work, full utilization of cadre potential and of the material and technical base, and the accelerated application of scientific achievements. Particular attention must be paid to concretizing the national scientific policy on the sectorial and regional levels in its development and implementation.

The results of the accelerated practical application of peak achievements of scientific and technical progress domestically and abroad must become the basic criterion in assessing the activities of scientific organizations, collectives and cadres.

Quality improvements must be made in the development of the scientific-cadre potential. Particular attention must be paid to the improvement of its qualifications and functional structure by increasing the percentage of highly skilled scientific workers. Increased concern must be shown for the further Marxist-Leninist

methodological and conceptual training of scientific cadres. The living conditions of scientific workers, particularly of younger ones, must be improved considerably.

An atmosphere of creativity, exactingness and intolerance toward distortions and lowered criteria in the assessment of scientific output and the awarding of scientific degrees and titles must be established in scientific institutes and organizations. Scope must be provided for the growth of young scientific cadres and a struggle must be waged against cases of scientific monopoly. The unsatisfactory condition of scientific criticism must be corrected. Creative discussions in the press and scientific forums must be even more consolidated as a method of widely discussing unresolved problems.

The public-state principle in scientific management must be systematically applied, and a science congress must be prepared and held.

The organizational forms of combining science with production and management must be improved on an intensive basis. Particular concern must be shown for the strengthening of applied engineering organizations in the economic units, and for their conversion into the main boosters of scientific and technical progress in the respective subsectors and production facilities. The opportunities of the teaching-cadres potential should be more efficiently used in higher educational institutions as regards scientific services to production, as well as in the development of fundamental and applied scientific research.

The programmed organization of labor and of financing scientific research and applied engineering activities must be extensively applied on the basis of the new economic mechanism. Comprehensive target programs must be formulated and implemented for solving particularly important scientific and technical problems.

The establishment of experimental production branches attached to applied engineering organizations and scientific-research institutes should be expanded. Their supply with equipment and materials must be drastically improved. Paperwork in connection with applying new technological methods and new products should be reduced.

The role of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences must be enhanced even further as the main center and national coordinator of basic research. Its participation must be intensified in the application of scientific accomplishments and in the growth and full utilization of scientific cadres and the organization of domestic and international scientific projects.

An academy of agricultural sciences must be founded.

The role of the scientific and technical associations in upgrading skills, insuring the better utilization of scientific and technical information and the expansion of technical and scientific creativity among the scientific and technical intelligentsia, and upgrading the effectiveness of the movement of rationalizers and inventors, must be enhanced. The normative base of the inventors' and rationalizers' activities must be perfected in accordance with the new economic mechanism.

The activities of the Union of Scientific Workers must be comprehensively improved and the work of scientific societies must be activated even further.

Shortcomings in the practical application of scientific achievements must be surmounted: the responsibility of scientific teams and consumers of scientific results must be encouraged and enhanced in order to insure the promptness and the level of application of developments, and to create economic conditions ensuring the steady flow of ideas and suggestions from science to production, social management and all realms of social practice; to make additional improvements in the mechanism of linking scientific and technical progress with the investment process, and the conversion of the plan for scientific and technical progress into an organic component of the plan for the socioeconomic development of the country.

The material and technical base of scientific research must be developed gradually and systematically on a modern level. Scientific institutes must be equipped with the necessary modern instruments and facilities. The import of one-of-a-kind apparatus and the most effective utilization of available material and technical facilities must be organized and strictly regulated. The experimental-production base of the scientific and applied engineering organizations must be developed, and a drastic improvement must be made in scientific instrument manufacturing. The automation of planning-design and scientific research work must be expanded.

In the very first years of the eighth 5-year plan we must resolve the problem of the development of a new system for socioeconomic and scientific and technical information which would cover all realms of life and human activities and, at the same time, will remain open to all worldwide information systems and resources. It must gradually become a type of "information industry" which would function on an economic basis and be consistent with the new conditions and stipulations of our progress.

We must ensure the further active participation of the country in the socialist integration with CEMA-member countries in the areas of science and technology. Scientific and scientific-technical cooperation must be developed above all in areas, directions and problems closely linked with production specialization and cooperation within CEMA.

Development of Artistic Culture

To an ever greater extent culture is becoming a basic factor in the development of man and society and the shaping of a comprehensively and harmoniously developed individual.

In the forthcoming period the line of accelerated development of the artistic culture of the mature socialist society, the growth of its social role and the enhancement of the quality and effectiveness of overall cultural activities must be extended.

Cultural activities must be focused even more actively on the ideological enrichment and qualitative enhancement of the nationwide movement for esthetic upbringing. Esthetic upbringing must be developed on a broad public basis and related even more

closely with communist upbringing as a whole, and with the problems and tasks resolved by the party and people in all fields of life. Esthetic criteria must be promoted as an inseparable characteristic of the socialist way of life, socialist awareness and work, way of life and morality. The significance of artistic culture should be enhanced even more expediently in giving meaning to recreation time and contributing to its rational utilization.

The organization and effectiveness of the system for dissemination and influence of cultural values must be improved in order to steadily enhance the cultural standard and level of development and satisfaction of the spiritual needs of the working people.

We must continue further implementing the long term comprehensive program for the harmonious development of the individual by increasing its political, artistic-esthetic, ideological and scientific results.

We must continue our efforts for further implementing and enriching the ideas of the Peace Banner International Assembly and for its assertion as a system for the overall development of the creative gifts of the growing generations through its lasting participation in the country's cultural life and growing international prestige.

In the area of artistic creativity, the main attention must be focused on further enhancing its ideological and artistic standard, and the creation of works with profound socialist content, national originality and lasting human significance.

We must intensify and expand relations among creative workers and recreate the image of the positive hero in his complexity, multifaceted and communist purposefulness. We must bring to light the socialist humanism, spiritual beauty and charm of the morally ennobled man. Literature and the arts must contribute even more extensively to focusing attention on the intolerance displayed by people deviating from the socialist way of life.

The creative workers must continue to work in profound harmony with the aspirations and hopes of the people. They must develop and enrich the progressive national traditions and develop an active attitude toward international problems and the struggle waged by the progressive and peace-loving forces in the world.

Literary-artistic criticism and theory must discover and assert the most significant features in artistic phenomena. They must interpret the main trends in the artistic process in accordance with the laws of life in building mature socialism.

Communist party-mindedness in the approach to artistic phenomena must be asserted even more firmly. Greater concern must be shown for a long the esthetic characteristics of party-mindedness in the mature socialist stage.

Theoretical science studies are needed of the development and characteristics of the method of socialist realism at the present stage, and of the contribution which socialist culture is making to the global artistic process. A struggle must be waged against subjectivism and lack of principles in the assessment of artistic works and processes.

The organization of a system of propagating cultural values and their impact upon the people must be perfected, and the effectiveness of this organizational work must be intensified so that the degree and extent of satisfying and purposefully shaping the esthetic needs of the working people may be enhanced in view of raising the entire people's cultural standards. It is necessary to create a scientifically founded system of constantly analyzing the structure and dynamic development of esthetical needs.

We must more fully utilize the people's creative potential by finding new opportunities for their maximum involvement in the creation of spiritual values and material goods.

Most favorable conditions must be created for the development of amateur artistic activities. A struggle must be waged against attempts to narrow their field and reduce their significance. The role of reading rooms, houses of culture, cultural workers clubs and museums must be enhanced. The activities of museums and art galleries must be most closely linked to the ideological and esthetic-educational functions of the cultural front.

The further development and improvement of library work must be focused on the search for an experimentation with new methods for promoting the active interest in reading among the working people and the growing generation, and the qualitative implementation of the comprehensive methodical and information functions of the Kiril I Metodiy National Library and the other leading library institutions, the enrichment of book stocks with the most valuable global book and documentary-information resources and the maximum utilization of scientific and technical progress in this area.

In the eighth 5-year plan, particular attention must be paid to the development of an overall organization of cultural life in the conurbation systems with a view to comprehensively satisfying the growing spiritual needs of the working people.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to develop as a center of international cultural initiatives and promote active and effective international cultural activities. Available experience and traditions must be enriched and developed. Exchanges of groups, individual creative workers and performers must be expanded in order to acquaint the Bulgarian people with the achievements of global culture, and of other nations with the achievements of Bulgarian culture.

The ideological, social and esthetic effectiveness of our international artistic-cultural activities must be enhanced. They must be more closely related to the domestic and international tasks of the party and country. Along with the propaganda of the 1,000-year-old Bulgarian culture, we must popularize even more extensively the achievements of contemporary Bulgarian socialist culture.

The line of comprehensive rapprochement between Bulgarian and Soviet cultures, and of expanding the cooperation and reciprocal enrichment of the cultures of the socialist countries, must be pursued on an even broader scope and with steadily richer means.

Active cultural contacts and cooperation must be promoted with the capitalist and developing countries, always taking into consideration the ideological nature and role of culture in the ideological struggle.

The international prestige of Bulgarian artistic culture must be used even more energetically in asserting the principles of peace, detente and cooperation among nations and in proving the advantages of real socialism and its ability to resolve major social and human problems.

The development and management of culture must be carried out, as in the past, on the basis of the public-state principle. New specific management methods and mechanisms must be used for their expansion and intensification.

The coordinating and organizing functions of the committee of culture and of the cultural councils must be enhanced.

The role of the artistic-creative unions must be asserted and developed in the country's overall sociocultural life. Their factual contribution and responsibility for the artistic-creative process, and in the implementation of the party's and country's cultural policy, must be enhanced.

Substantial improvements must be made in the activities of higher and secondary art schools, in planning the training of cadres for artistic culture and in their education and postgraduate training with a view to insuring their fullest possible utilization. Special effective measures must be taken to surmount disproportions in cadre availability for artistic-cultural institutions and activities in some areas.

The organic combination of ideological-political education with the mastering of professional skills, the molding of civic positions and class-party criteria, and relating them to the life of the people, the struggle for building a developed socialist society and the great ideas and problems of our age, must remain the main feature of the training, upbringing and utilization of the young creative generation. Better opportunities must be created for the young people to learn from the great artists.

The economic approach and the new economic mechanism must be applied in artistic culture. We must ensure the enhancement of the overall ideological, social, cultural-educational and economic effectiveness of cultural activities.

The public, the state and the economic organizations must show greater interest in further developing culture; an attentive and differentiated approach must be used in applying the economic approach to artistic culture in accordance with its specific nature. In this area socioideological effectiveness will remain the determining criterion.

A national program must be drafted for the reconstruction, modernization and construction of the material base of artistic culture. Particular attention must be paid to Sofia and some large okrug cities and industrial centers and conurbation systems. The technical standard must be steadily enhanced and scientific and technical progress must be used in the development and utilization of the

material base of cultural activities. The standards governing the full and comprehensive utilization of developed facilities must be improved, regardless of department affiliation, in accordance with the overall programmatic tasks facing artistic culture and the entire area of spiritual life.

The party's leadership of culture must be improved steadily. The problems of artistic culture and of the nationwide movement for esthetic education must become the core of party activities at all levels in an even more organic and comprehensive manner. The party organs and organizations must improve their political and educational work among the artistic-creative intelligentsia. Systematic concern must be shown for further improving party work in the artistic-creative associations, cultural institutions and public-state cultural management organs.

Development of Education

In accordance with the decisions of the July 1979 Central Committee Plenum on education, in the eighth 5-year plan a new unified secondary polytechnical school and a new type of technical school will be gradually developed, and higher education will be reorganized.

The reorganization of the educational process must be such as to ensure the development of the creative gifts of the individuals, the molding of communist ideological convictions and a higher level of conscientiousness, the acquisition of firm knowledge and of a high general culture, and the mastering of skills with broad polytechnical application and of specific expertise which will guarantee the full utilization of knowledge and readiness to work.

Conditions must be created for establishing the closest possible relations between students and labor collectives and the entire social environment as a means for developing love of work, responsible social behavior and a feeling of duty to the people and the socialist homeland.

The interaction and blending of education with science, artistic culture and the mass information media must be promoted.

Together with the development of the new schools, the necessary changes must be made in the curricula and training methods of schools in order to ensure a smooth transition to the new educational structures, content and organization of educational school work.

In the eighth 5-year plan the development of a network of kindergartens must be continued. The attendance of all 5-year-old children must be ensured in accordance with the stages in which they enter the first grade at the age of 6; this project must be completed during the 5-year plan.

The full-day organization of the educational-training process must be developed at a faster pace. By the end of 1985 it must include all first grade children and most students through the eighth grade.

The higher educational institutions must be developed as comprehensive training scientific centers. In the next few years a new nomenclature of special skills

will be gradually introduced. New principles and ways and means of training must be applied. Undergraduates and postgraduates must energize their participation in the training-education process. Facilities must be provided for their creative work in scientific research. Particular attention must be paid to the technical reequipping of teaching activities.

The quality of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the other social sciences must be improved with a view to the development of ideologically convinced young specialists holding high civic and proper class-party positions.

The effectiveness of the unified national system of postgraduate work must be enhanced. An overall program must be implemented for raising the qualificational standard of managing and performing cadres. Such activities must be most closely related to the new economic mechanism and make a real contribution to the intensification of all national economic areas.

The role of teachers and instructors must be comprehensively enhanced. Conditions must be created for the steady enhancement of their professional, pedagogical and ideological training. The system of their certification and material and spiritual incentives must be improved.

Pedagogical training must be improved by improving the system governing the training, retraining, and advancement of pedagogical cadres, and by training teaching cadres with higher education for all levels of the unified school and preschool training.

The new economic mechanism must be used for enhancing the participation and responsibilities of the corresponding governmental, public and economic organs and organizations and of the schools in cadre planning, training, assigning and effective utilization.

The state-public principle must be comprehensively strengthened and developed as a basic principle of the management of education in order to ensure the active involvement of all organs and organizations, the public and parents in the development of public education.

A comprehensive approach must be applied in the planning, construction and utilization of the material and technical base for educational purposes, regardless of departmental affiliation. Particular attention must be paid to modernizing and reconstructing the base of training-educational institutions.

Development of Mass Information Media

The line of comprehensively upgrading the ideological, professional-creative and organizational-technical standard of the mass information media will be continued with a view to an even greater enhancement of their role in creating and disseminating spiritual values, mass-political influence and clarification of the basic problems related to building mature socialism.

The application of the comprehensive approach must be expanded in the activities of the mass information media. Their role in upgrading the socialist awareness of the individual must be intensified.

The mass information media must:

- Steadfastly apply the class-party approach in the assessment of events, phenomena and problems of our time;
- Improve their work in the interpretation and popularization of leading experience, emphasizing the study of phenomena and the struggle for the factual application of leading achievements in mass practice;
- Show greater concern for improving the standard of theoretical propaganda related to the basic problems of our development;
- Intensify their critical work by concentrating upon socially important problems, concerning broad strata of the population; they must increase their criteria as regards the thoroughness, accuracy, constructive spirit and effectiveness of every critical publication.

The educational functions of the mass information media must be strengthened. They must acquire a richer content. They must improve the existing and establish new specialized sections with pertinent programs. Dailies and periodicals must increase the practice of periodically publishing additions and inserts for the benefit of students and parents.

We must intensify the activities and upgrade the quality of journalistic, publicity, book publishing and photographic propaganda output. We must focus our efforts on the internal development and improvement of each individual mass information medium and on the creative work of cadres in order to involve as authors the most competent specialists and workers from the scientific, economic, cultural and ideological front, as well as frontrankers in production.

Substantial improvements must be made in the organization of the information system by intensifying the operative quality and promptness of presentation of the news. The monotony of topics, geographic limitations and superficiality of information materials, both domestic and foreign, must be eliminated. The investigative approach must be broadened and enriched. More extensive use must be made of political reporting, and the variety of genres must be intensified.

Care devoted to topical commentaries must be enhanced, as well as to comments on domestic affairs and international topics, and to interviews, which must be distinguished by their unmistakable class-party analysis, a thorough argumentation, conviction and accessibility.

The comprehensive nature of the mass information media, television in particular, calls for a deeper synthesis and interpenetration of journalism, science, artistic creativity and education in publications and broadcasts.

More effective use must be made of the resources and possibilities of the book publishing industry by seeking means to improve sociopolitical, specialized-scientific, applied, children's and adolescents' and encyclopedic-reference publications.

The management of mass information media at all levels must be improved further: the press and radio must improve their network of printed publications and radio programs; the management of the system as a whole must be improved in book publishing, distribution and printing; publishing houses must specialize; prerequisites must be created for the use of electronic equipment in editorial-publication work; a system for the fast location and control of availability of books in the book trade must be developed.

The standards of ideological and professional-creative cadre training must be raised; an effective system must be developed for the selection, training and development of young cadres and the training of specialized cadres; postgraduate studies and the operative supply of information to cadres in mass information media at all levels must be improved.

The material-technical basis of printing, radio, television, photo-propaganda and book dissemination must be developed, modernized and reorganized in accordance with contemporary scientific-technical achievements, and the most efficient utilization of this technical-material basis must be ensured.

IV. On Improving State Construction and Social Management, and on the Further Development of Socialist Democracy

In the seventh 5-year plan, state construction and the social management system were developed further. The intensification and expansion of socialist democracy is the main feature characterizing this process. To an ever greater extent socialist democracy is proving to be an essential feature of real socialism and an effective factor for the utilization of its comprehensive advantages over capitalism.

The working people have become more active in the management of social affairs and in the building of socialism. They are increasing their participation in the political and cultural life of the country. The scope and practical efforts in the application of the public-state and state-public principle have been expanded and improved. A number of activities which were performed by state organs were transferred to public organizations or to state-public organs.

The role, competency and responsibility of the collective management organs at all levels have been increased. This applies to brigade councils, enterprise economic committees, economic councils of socialist organizations and collegiums of ministries and departments.

The process of further strengthening and developing the representative state organs has continued. The role and prestige of the National Assembly as the supreme organ of state power had been enhanced. The people's councils have been resolving their assignments ever more successfully, and enriching the content of their administrative-managerial functions.

The organs of state power and administration came even closer to the population with the development of the conurbation systems and the mayoralties. New opportunities were created for the satisfaction of the population's immediate interests. We converted to the system of direct election of mayoralty managers as new local power and administrative organs.

The defense capability and security of the country have been strengthened. The system of controlling the activities of administrative organs has been improved by improving work on the suggestions, reports, complaints and petitions of the citizens.

The social organizations and movements substantially improved their activities in the period following the 11th BCP Congress.

The fatherland front, Bulgarian trade unions and Dimitrov Communist Youth Union made a substantial contribution to the successful implementation of the seventh 5-year plan, and to further strengthening the sociopolitical and ideological unity of the Bulgarian people.

The party highly values the movement of Bulgarian women, the movement of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, and the scientific, professional, creative, sports, tourist, temperance and other organizations and movements which are making a worthy contribution to building socialism and establishing a socialist way of life.

Coordination and interaction between social organizations and movements, and state organs and organizations have reached a higher standard and are becoming their work style.

The development of production forces and the steady upgrading of the level of maturity of socialist social relations call for the steady improvement and enhancement of the scientific standard of social management and state construction on the basis of even more systematically developing socialist democracy and democratic centralism.

In the following period, the economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions of the socialist state must be manifested even more fully. Its role must be enhanced in laying the material and technical base, in administering the entire socialist economy, in steadily enhancing the living standard of the people, in further developing the spiritual life and communist education of the working people, in improving the work of the state apparatus, and in intensifying the control exercised by the socialist working people over the activities of the social management organs.

The existence of the capitalist system and the uninterrupted attempts on the part of the imperialist forces to oppose the building of socialism demand further strengthening the country's defense. Consequently, we must improve the military organization of the socialist society, upgrade the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army, and improve the means for the protection of real socialism and the work of the organs in charge of maintaining public order.

The principal direction to be followed in improving social management will be the ever more extensive development of direct socialist democracy. The means for the direct participation of the population in the administration of social affairs will be enriched and developed.

In this connection:

-- The state-social and social-state principle must be even more widely applied and must be asserted increasingly as a form of expression of socialist democracy;

-- We must give a richer and more effective content to the already created and proven forms of socialist democracy;

-- We must enhance the role of counterplanning as a successful form of manifesting the creativity of labor collectives and all working people, and for the development and maximum utilization of reserves in the national economy;

-- We must develop the application of the elective principle in the development of collective management organs, including those of industrial and other socialist organisations, combined with holding contests; we must increase the rights of the collective management organs, and the collective and individual responsibilities of their members for the economic and other consequences of their decisions;

-- We must continue the process of further expanding criticism and self-criticism as an expression of socialist democracy and as an objective law governing the development of socialist society, and an important factor in upgrading its maturity; tolerance and acceptance of criticism and readiness on the part of those criticized to draw proper conclusions and take prompt measures for eliminating weaknesses, shortcomings and errors must be cultivated;

-- We must further expand the political, economic, social and legal guarantees of the exercise of the rights and freedoms of the working people by consistently implementing the principle of unity in rights and privileges and in freedom and responsibility.

In accordance with the constitution, the National Assembly must exercise to an ever greater extent its rights as the supreme organ of state authority. It must combine legislative with executive activities. Particular attention must be paid to holding sessions on a high, creative level, to increasing control over state organs and to energizing the activities of the people's representatives.

As the permanent supreme organ of the National Assembly, the State Council must make fuller use of its competency, particularly in controlling the activities of central executive organs.

The Council of Ministers must substantially improve its work style and methods. It must improve its structure and organization and establish itself as the effective practical organizer and executor of the socioeconomic policy of the country. It must ensure the operative functioning of ministries, central departments and local state power organs.

The people's councils must expand to an ever greater extent their economic-organizational and social functions. They must strengthen their ties with the working people and their social organizations, and actively involve them in administration. Particular attention must be paid to expanding the rights of municipal people's councils as the full managers of their respective conurbation system. Greater attention and concern must be paid to strengthening the mayoralties and to improving their activities. The conversion of municipal people's councils to a self-supporting system must be accelerated.

To an ever greater extent the conurbation systems must be developed as socioeconomic and administrative units of a new type, and as a single social organism in

which the individual settlements are linked by common production-economic activities, common services and a unified transportation system.

The family is the basic nucleus of society and a powerful educational factor in bringing up the young generation. The party, state and sociopolitical organizations must devote further care to consolidating the family and strengthening its reproductive and educational functions.

The socialist legal order and the activities of court and prosecutor's organs must be developed and improved further.

Socialist legislation must be expanded and coordinated with the development of socialist social relations. A new labor code must be worked out and adopted. The passing of particularly laws and decisions affecting the interests of the entire population must be preceded by a nationwide discussion.

The court and prosecutor's organs, the Ministry of Interior organs and our entire public must increase their intolerance of crimes. They must intensify their preventive efforts in order to protect the legal order and socialist property.

The unity of state, people's and public control must become one of the most characteristic features of the socialist control system and a primary factor governing the participation of the working people in social management. The coordination and unity of action must be ensured in the work of all control organs. The principle of a uniform control system must be applied even more consistently. The public principle must be expanded in the work of the control organs and their efficiency increased. Preventive control must become the core of control work. The public and state control must be intensified.

The Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BNAU] holds a central position in the building and functioning of the political system of our socialist society and in the administration of the country.

The BNAU is a worthy partner of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the administration of the country and its loyal and consistent ally in building socialism. In the stage of building developed socialism the BNAU is making a significant contribution to implementing our socioeconomic strategy, particularly in the countryside, and to strengthening the ties and increasing the influence of socialist Bulgaria in international life.

The party highly values the international relations of the BNAU with progressive rural and related democratic parties and organizations in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

After the 11th BCP Congress and the 33rd BNAU Congress, the joint work between the two fraternal parties reached a new height. Active and effective cooperation is maintained between the BCP Central Committee and the BNAU Administrative Council in resolving the major problems and immediate tasks of the country's overall development. Relations between local party committees and BNAU managements and between primary party organizations and agrarian groups have become more regular and fruitful. Their joint efforts in resolving problems related to the development of okrugs, municipalities, and agro-industrial complexes have improved.

Unquestionably, the fraternity and unity between communists and agrarians will continue to strengthen and intensify. Our cooperation will become even more efficient and fruitful. The united agrarians will actively participate in the struggle for increasing grain production and animal husbandry output in the public sector. They will develop the private plots and help to resolve the problems of the self-satisfaction of conurbation systems with agricultural products. They will act as convinced fighters for building mature socialism.

The BCP is firmly convinced that the fraternal BNAU will remain the party's loyal ally in managing the country and building the new society, and an active fighter for the happiness and well-being of the people and for the further blossoming of our socialist homeland, the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The role and significance of the public, professional and creative organizations and movements will continue to expand in the future. They are important links within the political organization of our society and a powerful lever for the broadening and manifestation of socialist democracy and the ever greater participation of the working people in management. Their prime task is to mobilize even more actively the various population strata for the implementation of the party's policy, to study and protect their specific interests and tirelessly to work for the enhancement of the socialist awareness and social activeness of every citizen.

The significance, role and tasks of all social, professional, creative and other organizations and movements will be increased in the forthcoming period. Particular attention must be paid to further developing and improving the work of the fatherland front, the Bulgarian trade unions and the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union.

The fatherland front must continue to develop as the most popular social support of the people's regime and as an effective factor in further strengthening the moral and political unity of the people and the development and advancement of socialist democracy.

The party highly values the role and contribution of the fatherland front in the country's sociopolitical life. Its overall activities are most closely coordinated with the economic and social policy of the party. The conversion of the fatherland front from an organization into a movement and from a movement into an organization is yielding fruitful results and creating the opportunity for establishing it as a broad public school for communist, patriotic and international upbringing.

The fatherland front committees and organizations must work concretely and comprehensively with the population. It is particularly important to enrich their activities by relating it to the vital problems arising in districts, cities and villages, and to enhance their role in patriotic education, the creation of an atmosphere of high civic awareness and valorous industriousness and a healthy social-mental climate.

The fatherland front committees must dedicate particular concern and attention to strengthening and upgrading the activities of the primary organizations, and to giving their activities a rich content so that they may become the factual spokesman representing public opinion and public initiative.

The Bulgarian trade unions must implement ever more completely and successfully their functions as a mass school for administration and management, a school for education, and a school for communism. They must continue to improve their work in accordance with the new conditions and requirements stemming from the economic approach and the new economic mechanism, the line of the accelerated application of scientific and technical achievements and the party's strategic course of comprehensive intensification of the national economy and of upgrading the effectiveness and quality of all activities.

The trade unions must factually take part in the work of all sectors and activities. They must be coresponsible for the formulation and implementation of counterplans, the application of the economic approach, the creative use of the economic mechanism and the maximum development and utilization of reserves and, on this basis, raising the real income of the working people. Using their specific ways and means they must ensure the factual, extensive participation of workers and specialists in the formulation, discussion and adoption of counterplans and engineering projects. They must organize and guide the socialist competition for their implementation. They must contribute to the application of vanguard experience on a mass scale. They must study and submit to their corresponding state organs problems which hinder the full development of the possibilities of the labor collectives.

The task of correlating economic with social planning at all levels calls for upgrading the role and responsibility of the Bulgarian trade unions in formulating and implementing the plans for the social development of labor collectives. Activities in this area must be made fully consistent with the requirements of the new economic approach and the new economic mechanism.

The proper development and enrichment of the protective functions of the trade unions calls for waging an energetic struggle to strengthen socialist labor discipline and increase intolerance toward those who are not conscientious in doing their work, the waste-makers, the profiteers and the waters of socialist property. The awareness of the workers must not tolerate any actions on the part of upstart administrative or economic managers who violate the interests of the public, the collective or the individual workers. The trade union organizations must show greater concern for improving the working and living conditions of the working people. They must offer better solutions to problems of labor safety, recreation, and workers training and retraining.

Efficiency and specific concern for the work and upbringing of the working people must be the main features of trade union activities. Trade union democracy must be developed extensively. The workers must become ever more extensively and energetically involved in the administration of production affairs.

The work of the Dimitrov Komsomol and the work of the party with young people are developing under the influence and in the spirit of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's letter to the Komsomol Central Committee. The party, the Bulgarian youth and the entire public accepted the letter as a document of programmatic significance and as the further development of the April line in work with the young generation.

Today the task of the Dimitrov Komsomol is to accelerate the reorganization of its activities and achieve qualitative changes in the work of Komsomol societies and

organizations. The main thing is to raise practical work for implementing the tasks stemming from the letter to meet the standard of the criteria and requirements it contains. Live and direct organizational and educational work must be done by the Komsomol societies with every young man and woman. It is particularly necessary to promote a sharp feeling for the new, and a critical approach to one's own activities as an inherent feature of the style and methods of work of Komsomol organs and organizations. On the basis of the active participation of the youth in the socioeconomic development of the country, they must stimulate and provide extensive opportunities for youth initiative in labor and training. They must intensify their influence in the organization of leisure time and in the creation and utilization of material facilities for ideological-educational and mass cultural work with young people.

The party's leadership of the Komsomol must be improved by ensuring the active and effective participation of public, state, economic, scientific, cultural and other organs, organizations and individuals in the practical implementation of the new party's assignments in its work among the youth.

V. On Enhancing the Party's Leading Role

The period under consideration was particularly rich and meaningful in terms of the development of the party and the further enhancement of its leading role, and the expansion of its leadership ability. The party's strength and the power of activities of the party organs and organizations were manifested in the timely work on social development problems and the scope of organizational and political work for their systematic implementation.

In accordance with the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and the tasks based on the strategic course of high effectiveness and quality, the party's Central Committee displayed energetic efforts with a view to upgrading the standard of interparty life and increasing the ability of the party organs and organizations to master qualitatively new processes in social development and, on this basis, to enrich the approach, style and methods of their political and organizational guiding work.

The replacement of communist membership cards was an exceptionally important ideological, political and organizational event in the party's life. It was organized in accordance with the criteria and stipulations of the July 1976 Plenum and the National Party Conference, and played an important role in strengthening party ranks. The replacement confirmed the fact that the overwhelming majority of party members are implementing their vanguard role. They are actively and dedicatedly supporting the April party line and are working for its implementation. The criteria governing the political, practical and moral qualities of the party members were raised. The party deprived of their membership over 30,000 people who were violating the stipulations of its program and bylaws or harming its prestige. The Central Committee is steadfastly encouraging the stipulation that the party organizations must work with the party members in such a way that they may be proud of their party and the party may be proud of the political and moral purity of every party member.

Substantial changes were made on the level of the work of primary party organizations. Intraparty life became more purposeful and meaningful. Greater attention is being paid to the ideological training of the party members and their role and responsibility at work and in public life. The party organizations are mobilizing ever more successfully the party members and labor collectives for the solution of socioeconomic and ideological-educational problems. They are ensuring the practical participation of the working people in national economic management and creating conditions for the satisfaction of their vital interests and requirements.

Practical experience proves that wherever the party organizations feel their political responsibility and show initiative, successful work is being done with increased results; the organizations strengthen and act as the political nuclei, as the heads of collectives and as prototypes of their future condition.

In accordance with its practically tried April cadre policy, the party continued its adamant and systematic assertion of new criteria in the work with and of the cadres. The main efforts were focused on mastering new work approaches and styles, enhancing the training and ability for all-round and overall utilization of scientific ways and means, fuller consideration of specific conditions and tasks in all national economic and public sectors, and live organizational and political work among labor collectives.

Considerable efforts were made to upgrade the political and professional training of leading cadres. All in all, in the course of the 5-year plan, 124,347 party, state, public and economic leaders underwent skill-upgrading training.

The party line of combining work of the different generations of cadres, for the stable longterm cadre development, is being systematically implemented. Regular attention is being paid to reserve cadres.

Today the party and country have a large and competent cadre potential, infinitely loyal to the party cause, and able to resolve the major and complex problems of building a mature socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Major steps were taken to improve the condition and raise the standard and effectiveness of party ideological work. In the period under consideration, the party committees and organizations did a considerable amount of work on the reorganization and further improvement of the ideological front in accordance with the stipulations of the party program and the decisions of the 10th Party Congress. Consequently, the approach, content and organization of ideological work are taking ever more fully into consideration the active educational impact of the socialist social environment. The interpretive nature of educational work is being successfully surmounted. The organic ties between education and life are being strengthened, and its contribution to the solution of topical problems is rising. Positive results were achieved in the scientific study of the ideological process and the improvement of its guidance. In this respect the measures taken for longterm forecasting and comprehensive planning of ideological work, the development of scientific methods and the organization of large-scale ideological campaigns are of substantial significance.

The results of the overall work done by the party committees and organizations and ideological institutes in the past leads to the conclusion that tasks set by the 10th Party Congress of reorganizing ideological work on the basis of the ideological and substantive foundations of the party's program for building a developed socialist society, and for changing the approach, organization and management of the ideological front, may be considered essentially implemented.

It must be emphasized, however, that further efforts must be made to ensure the further improvement and advancement of party ideological work. This is a topical, permanent and ultimated need, above all because ideological activities must be kept steadily consistent with the requirements and needs of reality and, secondly, because of the major weaknesses and shortcomings which remain in this area. The main thing now is to raise the quality and effectiveness of ideological activities.

In the period under consideration the comprehensive work of the local party organs was raised to a higher standard. They improved their ability to guide the economic development of territorial units, provide competent political leadership of public life in them, create conditions for the display of greater initiative by economic organs and their branches, and expand the organizational functions of the local people's organs.

Under the conditions of applying the new economic approach, the party is being systematically guided by the stipulation that party committees must not duplicate or replace but support the creative activities of economic and state organs. Okrug and municipal party committees must promote to an ever greater extent in their approach and work style methods which enable them, to an ever greater extent, to focus their main efforts on systematically implementing the party's policy of highly effective development of sectors and activities and intensification of political and organizational work among labor collectives.

The establishment of municipal party committees in the new conurbation systems is an important and exceptionally promising matter. These committees were strengthened by well trained and experienced managerial cadres close to the population.

The balance of the distance covered by the party and the country after the 11th Congress proves that the activities of party organs and organizations are consistent with the main tasks and trends of social life. They have improved their ability to apply a political approach, to rally and guide labor collectives and to strengthen the ties between the party and people.

At its 12th Congress, the BCP was united and rallied around its Leninist April line and its Blagoev-Dimitrov Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, with a clear policy of programs for the future and with the ability systematically to implement and creatively to develop its practically tried general line. These are a line and policy not only of the party but of the entire people, of all its generations and social groups.

The publication of the three-volume works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's problems of party construction was a major event in the party's theoretical and ideological-political life in the period under consideration. His work and reports to the

National Party Conference (1978) and National Conference on the Systematic Application of the Economic Approach (January 1980) and his report to the BCP Central Committee Politburo of 14 October 1980 substantiate the principles and ways for coordinating party-organizational, ideological and all-round activities with the requirement of the contemporary stage in building socialism.

The main intraparty task in the forthcoming period is for the party to continue with its organizing and ideological work, making it ever more consistent with the needs and requirements of the contemporary stage of our development, to insure at all levels the precise implementation of decisions, to eliminate weaknesses and shortcomings, to improve the style and methods of work of party organs and cadres and party organizations and to raise the level of training and responsibility everywhere and in everything to the level of the new tasks.

Adamant and consistent work must be done to surmount the disparity existing in some areas and at some levels between the scientific decisions of party congresses and central committee plenums, on the one hand, and the insufficient effectiveness of organizational and political work for the prompt and overall implementation of such decisions, on the other.

Implementing the socioeconomic tasks in the eighth 5-year plan and solving the major and complex problems facing the party and country in the stage of building a mature socialist society call for improving and enhancing to a qualitatively new level the organizational and ideological work of the party as a whole and of each individual party committee and party organization.

Further improvements in the qualitative structure of the party and the strengthening of the party nucleus in all areas of social life must remain the basic concern of the party committees and organizations in the forthcoming period. The strength of the party nucleus must be gauged on the basis of the real ability of any primary party organization to carry out its leading role in implementing the economic, social and ideological-educational objectives of party policy within each labor collective, settlement or material or spiritual production sector, and its skill to raise the individual training, contribution and responsibility of all party members at work and in public life to the level of the requirement of the party's political line.

The social composition of the party is developing in a state of organic relationship with the socioclass structure of the society. The share of the workers in the party is continuing to grow. Currently workers account for 42.7 percent of the overall number of party members. The party nucleus is increasing among mechanics and agricultural specialists. A high percentage of members of the people's intelligentsia are party members.

Currently women account for 29.7 percent of all party members. Their share of the newly accepted members after the 11th Congress rose to 36.3 percent.

The educational standard of party members is rising steadily; 83.9 percent of the newly accepted members after the 11th Congress have higher, semihigh or secondary education.

Party members under 30 account for 11.4 percent of the membership; in the period between the two congresses 76 percent of the new members were within this age group.

The party will continue to accept as members working people whose political, moral and professional qualities allow them to be in the leading ranks of the struggle for building a developed socialist society on the basis of a strict individual approach and high responsibility and strictness. Preliminary work with candidates for party members must be improved.

The political tempering and all-round training of party members must be enhanced even further. Their labor and social activeness must be intensified. We must firmly remove from the party those who do not justify the high responsibility they assume by joining its ranks. We must surmount the practice which has developed in many party organizations of mentioning shortcomings without naming their bearers and without taking to task those responsible for weaknesses. The primary duty of each party organization is to establish and maintain a spirit of high level organization and discipline, and assess individual actions on the basis of our party's high level criteria and requirements.

Individual work with the party members for the purpose of enhancing the example they provide and upgrading their vanguard role is a basic requirement in the organization and content of intraparty life. The working people can become party members if they have the specific qualities demanded by the party bylaws. However, such qualities must be developed and enriched. The political and professional training and responsibilities of every party member must be increased both concerning his own work and behavior and the condition of his labor collective.

Special organized measures must be implemented by the party committees and organizations with the young party reinforcements. Currently many party organizations no longer become concerned with newly accepted party members once they have been accepted. The natural process of adaptation by the young party members to the new obligations they assume must be skillfully guided. They must not only be given assignments but help in their implementation. The party organizations and groups must promptly involve the new party members in full-scale organizational activities and in active social efforts. They must show systematic concern for their training and growth, for their class, revolutionary and practical tempering and for improving the opportunities for enriching their social experience.

The strength of the party lies in the strength and effectiveness of the primary party organizations. They are the representatives of the party among the labor collectives and the representatives of the labor collectives in the party. The establishment of the primary party organization as leading political nuclei and prototypes of the future status of the collectives is the immediate key task and longterm objective of the party work which must be done in accordance with the requirements and criteria of the contemporary stage of the country's development.

Currently, many organizations are unable to detect and resolve adequately and promptly the new problems arising in the life of labor collectives. They do not always profoundly discuss at party meetings the basic problems affecting the party members and all working people. The measures they take are insufficiently effective. Some party organizations are not struggling for high level responsibility

and party discipline or for the accurate implementation of assignments. They do not react rapidly and sharply to deviations from the requirements of party principles and morality.

The party committees have the important task of intensifying and strengthening the initiative-minded nature of the work of the primary party organizations. They must enrich interparty democracy as a model of socialist democracy. They must enhance the role of the party meeting in which the party members can freely discuss party policy in all sectors and boldly develop criticism and self-criticism, as dictated by their conscience.

Today the task of all party organizations is to create an atmosphere of high level organization and discipline and responsibility on the part of the party members. This task is directly related to the technological requirements of production and management, the high level of development of social relations and the requirements governing the qualities of managing and performing cadres.

The primary party organizations must create an atmosphere of creativity. They must support innovators, rationalizers and inventors. They must wage an irreconcilable struggle against routine, conservatism and against the administrative, mental and other barriers hindering scientific and technical progress. The party committees, bureaus and individual party members must clearly realize that the eighth 5-year plan cannot truly become a 5-year plan of technical progress unless the atmosphere of initiative and creativity, and the ambition to reach the peak achievements and to master leading experience in the corresponding area, does not spread among all labor collectives. The acceleration of scientific and technical progress must become the personal and the collective party assignment of every party member and of each primary party organization.

The primary party organizations must increase their concern for the steady improvement of the working and living conditions of labor collectives and the population in the individual territorial units. They must study newly arising problems and insure their timely solution by competent state and economic organs. Concern for the people must be the distinguishing feature not only of the party as a whole but of each of its basic cells--the primary party organization.

The work of party groups should be perfected and their role in the life of basic workers collectives must be enhanced.

Relations between the party organization and the labor collective are assuming decisive importance. The manner in which the party organization applies its conscientiousness and level of organization in the collective in order to help it to develop properly and to increase its social and labor activity must become the focal point in assessing activities within the party. The way the party organization instructs and follows the processes of the application of the new economic approach in the collective and, on this basis, the way it raises the level of its work must become the prime yardstick in determining the quality of its leading role.

The local party committees at all levels must continue to develop and become the political leaders of the party organizations, the working people and the population.

In accordance with the new tasks and the changes which have taken place in the territorial-settlement structure of the country, it is particularly important today to ensure the fullest possible utilization of the competency and the rights and obligations of the party committees, to enrich their approach, style and methods of work and to increase their ability to organize the creative initiative of the working people for the overall implementation of party and government decisions, and for the highly effective and comprehensive development of the respective territorial units.

-- In the forthcoming period as well, the party will continue to pay prime attention and show constant concern for strengthening the municipal party committees. They must develop ever more fully as qualitatively new organs of political leadership. They must guide the further development and establishment of the conurbation systems as socioeconomic and administrative units of a new type.

Direct organizational mass-political work among the communists and the entire population must become the main line of activity of municipal party committees. For this reason they must focus their attention on raising the work standard of the primary party organizations and promote their ability to organize the labor collectives and improve ideological-educational activities at work and at home. The municipal party committees must strengthen their political guidance of the local state organs and of public and economic organizations. They must base their overall activities on a broad aktiv of party members. They must strengthen their staffs with highly skilled cadres related to the population, and become a true source for forging dedicated and capable managers.

The municipal party committees must develop as complete operative organs. They must firmly surmount their tendency to promote the type of organization and work style typical of okrug committees. Their plenums, meetings and conferences must be practical above all. They themselves must be effective, active and purposeful in their organizational work.

-- The requirements concerning the work of party committees have become far stricter. The development of economic rayons and territorial units calls for improved okrug party committee management of the comprehensive implementation of the reproduction process and their increased influence on okrug social life. Their managerial activities must be distinguished by a high level of political maturity, use of science, and topical and concrete actions. They must assume greater responsibility for the overall systematic implementation of the party's social, economic and cultural policy within their territory.

The okrug committees must show particular concern for the further development of municipal party committees. They must strengthen the latter with trained cadres and help them to clarify and resolve the specific problems related to the economic and social development of the conurbation systems.

Democratic centralism will remain the basic and firm principle of party activities.

The party organs and organizations must develop intraparty democracy more extensively, and upgrade its effectiveness. The further development and improvement of

socialist democracy depend, to the highest extent, also on the development and improvement of the democratic principles governing the life of party organs and organizations.

At the same time, democracy within the party must be organically combined with strengthened discipline and ideological and organizational unity. Broad democracy and freedom of opinion in the discussion of any matter, reports submitted by elective organs on their work, and criticism and self-criticism are inseparable from the observance of an iron-conscious discipline and from the strengthening of unity of action while accurately implementing the decisions and instructions of superior party organs. All attempts of suppressing criticism must be stopped.

The party's cadre policy is right and fruitful. It is the April line of cadre work--a line of firm application of the Leninist principles governing the selection, training and deployment of cadres, the line of developing their creative potential, of great trust and principled exactingness and of their development and growth in step with the requirements of building socialism.

Cadre work must be based on the objective need for the development of a new type of manager familiar with the new economic approach and mechanism which he will apply creatively, a manager who will consider in depth production, organization and management problems, who will show a feel for new things, sensibly use his rights and assume the necessary responsibilities, a manager who will be able to unite and inspire the labor collective.

--The class-party approach in selecting and distributing cadres must be consistently and steadily applied. The criteria of the political, practical and moral qualities of cadres must assign a central role of the requirement of maintaining close and permanent relations with the working people, the ability to communicate and organize them, and to rely on the collective thinking of the leading organs and masses, on the achievements of science and leading experience, and on their modesty, industriousness and moral purity.

--The quality and effectiveness of cadre training must be upgraded through the application of the target approach in the training of active and reserve cadres. Cadre training must also become a process of management and control over their self-development. Proper training or skill upgrading must be a mandatory prerequisite in promoting or relocating managers in order to close the selection-training-utilization cycle.

--New solutions must be found to insure the stability and growth of local cadres. Improvements must be made in the material and moral incentive system in order to create conditions for senior workers in the party, the state and the economic and public organizations to master the specific nature of their assigned sectors, to acquire practical experience, and to develop and grow without necessarily changing their positions.

--Educational work must be improved and exactingness facing the activities and behavior of cadres must be upgraded. A struggle must be waged against fussing and meaningless talk, against attempts to exaggerate factual results and conceal existing shortcomings and against the use of official positions for gaining personal

advantages. To this effect the system of certification of managerial cadres must be improved. It must be based on the factual results and their individual qualities.

The tried Leninist norms of party life must be applied in the activities of the party committees and organizations and of leading cadres in all areas. Work style and methods must be improved. This is a decisive prerequisite for the successful implementation of the party's policy of upgrading the effectiveness of party work and insuring the further intensification of the party's leading role.

At the present stage:

--Strengthening the ties between party-organizational work and social practices and the life of the working class and the entire nation becomes particularly topical and important. It is not only erroneous but harmful to consider it as an activity involving party committees and party organizations alone. The purpose of party-organizational work is to establish the closest possible and permanent ties between the party managements and party members with cadres in the public organizations and state organs and the broad people's masses.

--Control of execution must be the basic feature of managerial work. Today, controlling means organizing. Control must begin with the drafting of a decision whose substantiation must be properly assessed and amended in the course of its implementation; it must involve the detection and popularization of positive results; it must train and educate, and only then impose penalties for shortcomings. Investigation and party control must be such as to provide conditions for a dialogue and for enabling party members and working people to express their views, supervise the establishment of democratic intraparty relations, the use of collective thinking by party organs, the search for individual responsibility, control over democratic centralism, and the observance of the party's statute and program by the party organs and organizations.

--We must decisively improve the supply of information to party organs and organizations. Their guiding decisions must be based on sufficiently complete, comprehensive, objective and timely information on new phenomena and developing problems in the life of party organizations and working people, on leading experience and scientific achievements and on the course of the implementation of assignments. On the one hand, this calls for improvements in the system and ways and means of information gathering and processing. On the other, it calls for upgrading the organizational and, particularly, information standards of managerial cadres at all levels and the development in such cadres of the need and ability to seek and master the information they need, as well as their skill to analyze and use it as a powerful instrument for the scientific management of social processes and as an effective means for control and education.

--The study of public opinion and of the political moods of the working people must be improved. Under socialist conditions, public opinion is the concentrated manifestation of the wisdom of the people and of their rich social and political experience. The extensive manifestation and active utilization of public opinion in management and education are indicators of the intensification of the democratic nature of our social system, the enhancement of the public awareness of the working

people and the further strengthening of ties between the party and masses and the ever more active involvement of the latter in the administration of the country. That is why the party committees must establish permanent scientifically organized systems for receiving prompt and adequate information on public opinion in the organizations and collectives they manage. They must make full use of such information in their managerial activities and promptly answer all questions.

--The effectiveness of political, organizational and ideological work must be upgraded. Everywhere and in all circumstances the comprehensive activities of party organs and organizations must be carried out and assessed exclusively on the basis of the planned and factually achieved political, ideological, social and labor results. A decisive struggle must be waged against self-seeking measures, formalism and the quantitative approach to the assessment of work done.

Greater attention must be paid to scientific research on problems of party work effectiveness. Reliable assessment methods must be developed and applied. Planning in party work must be updated with the contemporary requirements of scientific management of social processes, and with the application of the programmatic goal-oriented and comprehensive approach. Prognostication, experimenting and setting up models in party work must be more widely applied. Work in connection with research and creative application of the experience of the CPSU and of the other fraternal parties in various sectors of party work must be pursued.

In the forthcoming period the basic task in the field of party ideological work is to achieve the type of changes in the public and individual mind and behavior which will lead to the development of an active life stance and will upgrade the social activeness of the individual in the building of mature socialism, the solution of immediate problems and tasks and the improvement of the socialist way of life. An active life stance means the attitude of the individual toward life, his work and his struggle for the practical implementation of the tasks of building socialism and reaching the communist ideals. It is based on the outlook of the individual, and is implemented through the individual's behavior and practical actions.

--We must enrich and intensify the ideological-theoretical and political content of propaganda and agitation. In this case the further extensive study of Marxist-Leninist theory, of philosophy, political economy and scientific communism in particular is of profound significance. Particular attention must be paid to the more intensive study of the theoretical legacy of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the ideological wealth contained in the works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the basic documents of the BCP, the CPSU and the international communist movement. The processes and phenomena of domestic and international life must be promptly discovered and scientifically interpreted. A rapid and accurate class-party assessment must be provided in the interpretation of new facts and events. The mass and individual ideological processes must be studied.

--Further efforts must be made to ensure the fuller study and active utilization of the great educational influence of the socialist social environment, the labor collective in particular, public services, schools and others. In this area the ideological front must focus its attention, on the one hand, on the further

ideologization of the environment and the improvement of the ideological training and responsibility of its management and performing cadres and, on the other, on the influence of the environment for achieving the highest possible educational results.

--All ideological work in all areas and at all levels must become even more closely and effectively related to the political, economic, social, diplomatic, cultural, scientific and other tasks and problems resolved by the People's Republic of Bulgaria at its present development stage. Actual contributions to the successful and timely solution of immediate problems facing labor collectives and the country at large is one of the main criteria in judging the condition and effectiveness of the ideological front.

--More extensive use must be made of modern and scientific ways and means in the planning, organization and performance of ideological work. Scientific and factual arguments, an accurate class-party criterion, high standards, concreteness and aggressiveness must become the organic features of any ideological initiative and a decisive prerequisite for enhancing its effectiveness. This demands that the ideological cadres master on a high professional level traditional and new effective ways, means and methods of ideological influence. To this effect, decisive improvements must be made in the system for training and upgrading the skills of ideological and scientific workers, lecturers, propagandists, agitators and so on.

--The topical character and the convincing strength of the party's ideological work must be enhanced: well-founded answers must be found, in a timely manner, to questions which arise. More attention must be devoted to the propaganda of the achievements of real socialism.

--Ideological work must become the work of the entire party. The management of each party organization must feel directly responsible for the content and effectiveness of ideological work and for the upbringing and behavior of the party members and the other working people in the respective labor collectives and of the entire population in the territorial units.

The shaping of the communist awareness of the individual must be even more closely linked with the manifestation of his social role and active participation in building socialism.

Today, the primary task of the ideological front is to comprehensively contribute to implementing the party's socioeconomic strategy and to make its contribution to the struggle for applying the new economic approach, developing comprehensive intensification, accelerating scientific and technical progress and enhancing effectiveness and quality. The objective need and scientific substantiation of this strategy must develop as a profound inner conviction shared by the party members and all working people, while its implementation must be considered a matter of duty, honor, work and struggle by the entire people.

--The study of economic problems must be intensified and expanded. Economic education must be perfected. The main efforts must concentrate upon the implementation of the party task--to establish an educational system for the class and the entire people likely to transform the economic approach into the prevailing

mentality of the people, likely to make the economic approach the goal and cause of millions of people and likely to transform this approach into the people's way of life and work. The unity and interrelationship among individual, collective and public interests must be shown: it must be made clear that the good work of the individual determines the well-being of the community, and that the well-being of the individual depends on everyone else's work.

--Scientific and technical propaganda must be expanded and enriched among all popular strata. Innovators, rationalizers and inventors must be supported. An atmosphere of intolerance of conservatism and bureaucracy and of anything which hinders the accelerated application of scientific and technical achievements must be created. At the same time, the ideological front must explain even more extensively and substantively the objective results of scientific and technical progress which, on the one hand, is a main factor in upgrading social labor productivity and production effectiveness and quality and, on the other, brings about profound changes in the sectorial, skill and demographic population structure and requires the timely availability of professional readiness and a mental willingness to accept such changes.

--The labor education of the people and youth must be increased and intensified. At the present stage of our social development, labor education may not be reduced for it to include organizational and purposeful efforts aimed at developing in everyone a broad information culture, respect for and observance of law, the aspiration to seek, master and use the latest knowledge and leading experience in one's respective profession; a rich organizational standard; the awareness and habits of labor discipline, thrifty and most efficient utilization of time; and the development of a new quality of labor consistent with the requirements of the other production elements and used as a prerequisite for their further advancement.

--Greater attention must be paid to maintaining a most favorable sociopsychological climate in the labor collectives, and improving relations between managers and workers and among workers themselves as an important prerequisite for the fuller utilization of the human factor in production and the proper upbringing of the socialist working person.

Moral upbringing becomes particularly topical and significant today. It is scheduled to play a far greater role in shaping the life stance of the individual and in asserting socialist moral values in all members of society, particularly the young generation. This attitude toward the socialist system, the development of high communist virtues and active participation in the struggle for upgrading public labor productivity and personal contribution in the solution of problems facing the party and people must become the principal criteria governing the moral features of the new individual. Today we must not simply increase the attention paid to moral upbringing, but make it one of the basic directions in ideological-educational work.

An irreconcilable struggle must be waged against deviations from the norms of socialist morality, a passive attitude in social life, consumerism, parasitism, idleness, avoidance of work, careerism, egotism, thefts and other phenomena and actions incompatible with the socialist way of life.

In order to upgrade the role of moral upbringing, it is particularly necessary to enhance the individual example provided by leading cadres, by the party members, as a major channel for transmitting moral experience from one person to another and from one generation to another, and for the establishment of a healthy moral-mental atmosphere in the labor collectives and for molding collective public opinion on the basis of the moral principles and norms of the socialist society.

Patriotic and international education must remain the basic and very important direction of ideological work, and a prerequisite for strengthening and intensifying the ideological-political unity of the Bulgarian people. Ideological work must develop even more systematically and durably in all Bulgarian citizens a high level of patriotic awareness, national pride and a feeling of responsibility and the gains of real socialism, and intolerance of any type of display of nationalism and national nihilism.

It is the duty of the party organizations to develop in every citizen of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and, particularly the young generation, accurate class-party criteria in evaluating facts and phenomena in domestic and international life, and a readiness for active participation in the building and defense of our socialist homeland.

Continuing concern and attention must be paid to strengthening and intensifying the international awareness of the working people. The party must continue to focus its attention on the further development of the objective process of interpenetration between socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism.

The struggle on the ideological front against bourgeois ideology and imperialist ideological diversion, anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, Maoism, and leftwing and rightwing deviations from Marxism-Leninism must become even more aggressive. We must develop the type of positions held by all working people which will enable them in all cases to defend and promote the gains and advantages of real socialism, and to firmly rebuff the attempts of bourgeois propaganda to slander socialism and undermine socialist awareness and socialist morality.

At the same time, we must develop and improve our foreign political propaganda. Its purpose is systematically and convincingly to depict the tremendous successes achieved by the country in its economic, social and cultural development; to explain the constructive and active peace policy of the BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria; to expose the aggressive imperialist foreign political course; and to propagandize the contribution of real socialism to the solution of the basic problem of our time--the preservation of global peace.

The application of the comprehensive approach to ideological-political, moral, labor and atheistic education of the working people, and to the planning, organization and implementation of the tasks of ideological-educational work is the principal scientific-organizational instrument used in upgrading its effectiveness.

The comprehensive approach calls for the all-round differentiated analysis of each specific situation and of the consequent tasks related to the upbringing and behavior of the individual. All ways and means of ideological influence must be scientific and consistent with the characteristics of the individual population

strata, social groups and private individuals, and the extent of their factual awareness; they must be strictly consistent with the final objective of ideological activities: the communist education of the people.

This calls for even better mastering and applying at all levels the comprehensive approach to problems of educational work and for improving the style and methods of ideological influence.

The party committees must continue to pay greater attention and dedicate efforts and concern for improving the party's management of ideological work and ideological processes. It is particularly important to insure the competent management of ideological institutes, to improve the selection, training and placement of ideological cadres, to create highly trained ideological workers in the various fields and institutions, to enhance their political, professional and specialized skills, and to upgrade the level of control, responsibility and exactingness toward the work of ideological cadres and institutions and the ideological work of party, state, economic and social cadres.

Special attention and care must be shown for further improving ideological activities in primary party organizations so that they may become the organizers of varied, meaningful and effective ideological-educational work among party members and the entire population. The ideological work of the primary party organizations must be focused on individual work with every working person. Measures must be adopted to improve the training of primary ideological cadres.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is going through an exceptionally important period in building a developed socialist society: it is in a state of transition from predominately extensive to intensive development of the national economy, based on contemporary scientific and technical progress.

The eighth 5-year plan will be a period of profound qualitative changes in the overall social, economic and spiritual development of our socialist society.

Unquestionably, this will constitute a new major step forward in building mature socialism, upgrading the living standards of the Bulgarian people and advancing its science and culture. It will be a major step in the contribution made by our socialist state in the struggle for peace, detente and cooperation among nations in the Balkans, Europe and throughout the world.

Everything is in the hands of the people.

The well-being of all depends on the work of the individual citizen and labor collectives.

The BCP calls upon the working class, agricultural workers and people's intelligentsia, on the entire people, to engage in dedicated high quality and effective work and struggle, for work and creativity to fulfill and overfulfill the eighth 5-year plan.

Forward to new, great successes in the socialist building and prosperity of our dear fatherland--the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

DEVELOPMENT OF STATE SECURITY SYSTEM ANALYZED

Leadership Upgraded

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 14 No 1, Jan 81 signed to press 23 Dec 80 pp 9-11

[Commentary by Karl Wilhelm Pricke: "Ministry for State Security (MfS) Top Leadership Upgraded and Strengthened." A translation of the author's earlier article on the subject, cited in footnote 3, follows this commentary. A translation of State Security Minister Erich Mielke's article, cited in footnote 5, is published under the heading, "Minister Assesses State Security Organs' Mission," in JPRS 75503, 15 Apr 80, No 1779 of this series, pp 37-45]

[Text] Names are news--in the GDR more so than elsewhere, since in the state of the SED information frequently is generated only when names are named. Thus East Berlin did not officially announce that the leadership of the Ministry for State Security (MfS) is now made up of the minister, a first deputy and another three ministerial deputies, each of whom also is a high-ranking general; but this became known, when a short time ago all diplomatic missions received an up-dated protocol list of the GDR Foreign Ministry.¹ According to this list, the MfS is presently headed by a leadership collective, which in regard to number and military rank clearly indicates a political upgrading of the GDR security organs:

Minister for State Security:	General Erich Mielke (also member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee);
First Deputy Minister:	Colonel-General Bruno Beater (also member of the SED Central Committee);
Deputy Ministers:	Colonel-General Markus Wolf; Lieutenant-General Rudolf Mittig; Major-General Gerhard Neiber, D.C.L.

We know that on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Ministry for State Security its head was promoted to the rank of General.² But it was not announced that last year--probably at the same time--Beater and Wolf advanced to the rank of Colonel-General. This was learned only from the protocol list, as was the fact that in addition to Wolf and Mittig, Major-General Gerhard Neiber, D.C.L., has been placed in the state security headquarters in the capacity of deputy minister. Neiber had for years been in charge of the MfS Frankfurt/Oder bezirk [GDR administrative unit] administration.

The MfS leadership also includes Major-General Gerhard Heidenreich,³ who as first secretary of the MfS party organization also belongs to the board of the Ministry for State Security.

The greater number of high-ranking individuals in the MfS leadership is indicative of a political upgrading, which is definitely in accord with the--lately increased--influence of the GDR security organs. Nevertheless, this development does not evidence anything sensationally new; rather, in terms of the general trend it is characteristic of the Erich Honecker era. A mere 6 weeks after succeeding Walter Ulbricht as head of the SED, Honecker arranged for the minister of state security to join the SED Politburo, albeit only as a non-voting candidate. Five years later, he had Mielke elected full member of the Politburo. Since then, Mielke--who in the GDR is in charge of internal security and espionage--has directly been influencing all political decisions of the Party leadership. At the same time, he is informed of all developments within the Politburo.

Surveying the composition of the MfS leadership during the period from 1950 to 1980, one notes two phenomena: Firstly, in terms of numerical strength, the leadership underwent steady expansion over the years. Whereas in the beginning, i.e. in 1950, one minister and one state secretary had been sufficient, 30 years later there are one minister, one first deputy and three additional deputies. Secondly, the distinguishing characteristic of this cadre policy is continuity. Two changes in the ministerial office that took place within only a few years must be considered exceptions to the rule. As the following survey shows, they do not disprove the rule:

Ministers for State Security	Year of Birth	Term of Office
Wilhelm Zaisser	1893	Feb 50 to Jul 53
Ernst Wollweber ⁴	1898	Nov 55 to Nov 57
Erich Mielke	1907	since Nov 57
Deputy Ministers		
Bruno Beater	1914	since 1955 (first deputy since 1961)
Otto Last	1906	1953 to 1959
Erich Mielke	1907	Feb 50 to Nov 57 (subsequently minister)
Rudolf Mittig	1918	since Aug 75
Dr Gerhard Neiber	1923 (ca.)	since 1980
Alfred Scholz	1921	? to Aug 78 (deceased)
Fritz Schroeder	1915	Mar 64 to Oct 75
Otto Walter	1902	1953 to 1963
Markus Wolf	1923	since 1960

Of a total of three ministers and nine deputy ministers (one of whom advanced to the office of minister), six occupied or have been occupying their post for 10 or more years. As regards Mielke and Beater, their terms of office as minister or deputy minister exceed 30 and 25 years, respectively; in this regard, it should be noted that Beater has been active in the field of state security since 1950--albeit not as deputy minister. This goes also for Markus Wolf, who joined the MfS in 1953, but did not assume the duties of deputy minister until 1960.

This continuity probably is attributable to security policy considerations. Every personnel change entails a political risk for the SED leadership, insofar as new

leadership cadres must prove themselves politically. Thus changes involving leadership cadres are "minimized" as much as possible. Equally typical is the fact that as a rule those advancing to the office of deputy minister are recruited from the top state security cadres. Outsiders do not have a chance.

It seems reasonable to attribute the recent upgrading of the GDR state security organs to a development characterized by increased domestic repression and intensified external delimitation. In fact, the tightening of the political penal norms that came into effect in the GDR on 1 August 1979 was bound to lead to an activation of state security. Indications of this activation were the instigative utterances of state security chief Mielke, who again and again--no matter what the occasion--called for "increased vigilance": in an article marking an anniversary, in speeches before Party activists from the state security sector, during an anti-fascist demonstration in East Berlin.

On some of these occasions, Mielke revealed the interrelationship between his alarmist statements and the internal repercussions of the policy of detente on the GDR: For example, he accused "the hostile centers in the FRG and in West Berlin of increasingly exploiting their opportunities to exert an ideological influence on the citizens of the GDR and of constantly trying to intensify the ideological diversion. They abuse the millions of contacts, the tourist, visitor and transit traffic for diversionary objectives, espionage, attacks against the national economy, subversive kidnapping operations and other subversive activities inside the GDR..." But those who "transgress the laws of the socialist state and thus cause harm to the basic interests of the people will be called to account in accordance with the applicable legal regulations... This is the basic thrust of the laws that came into effect on 1 August 1979, above all the Third Penal Code Revision."⁵

Such statements afford an insight into the self-assurance and self-image of the GDR security organs. Ultimately, however, these statements--like the increase in the MfS leadership's numerical strength and the political upgrading of the state security service--are indications of a development that calls forth ominous memories of a time, when the walls of the state security offices and interrogation rooms were still adorned with pictures of Joseph Stalin.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Protokoll-Liste 1--Zentrale Staatliche Organe" [Protocol List 1--Central State Organs], published by the Protocol Department of the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs, September 1980, p 21.
2. See "Erich Mielke Was Promoted to the Rank of General," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 2/3 Feb 80.
3. See Karl Wilhelm Fricke, "Party and State Security. The SED and the MfS Apparatus," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 4, 1980, pp 371 ff.
4. From July 1953 until November 1955, Ernst Wollweber headed the State Secretariat for State Security of the Ministry of the Interior.
5. Erich Mielke, "Ready to Take Responsibility for State Security," EINHEIT, No 2, 1980, pp 155 ff.

Concept, Organization

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 13 No 4, Apr 80 signed to press 21 Mar 80
pp 371-382

['Analyses and Reports' feature article by Karl Wilhelm Fricke: "Party and State Security: SED and the MfS Apparatus." A translation of the author's article on the Main Administration for Intelligence Collection (HVA), cited in footnote 54, follows this analysis]

[Text] Party and state security--formulated in this way, the topic calls for a prefatory semantic elucidation, for this formulation conforms to a GDR linguistic usage that invests the term "state security" with a peculiar double meaning: On the one hand, state security denotes in the GDR--as it does in the FRG--the security of the state. To this extent, designation of the responsible government department as "ministry for state security"--abbreviation MfS--corresponds to the generally accepted usage. But on the other hand, in the GDR the term "state security" also stands for the organs that are responsible for state security. As can be amply documented, statements by prominent Party and state functionaries and high-ranking MfS officers frequently refer to "state security" in general, to the "organs of state security," to the "comrades of state security." "Enemies and agents are to fear state security"¹--a by no means unusual formulation. An honorary title introduced in 1969 reads: "Deserving Member of State Security."² According to the East Berlin Dictionary of Modern German Usage, use of the term in this sense is a new GDR coinage.³ The present minister for state security, Politburo member Erich Mielke, is the only one who tends to use semantically logical formulations: He speaks of the "organs of the Ministry for State Security" and occasionally of the "security organs" or the "state security organs"; but like Erich Honecker he also has a special liking for another expression. On several occasions, Mielke called the MfS officers and staff members "the Chekists of the GDR"⁴ so as to establish a dubious line of tradition linking them with the Cheka, the early precursor of the KGB, which was founded by V. I. Lenin. The term "State Security Service," which one frequently encounters in the FRG, is hardly ever used in the GDR, neither officially nor by the public--which incidentally goes also for the abbreviation SSD. It appears, however, that in the GDR the ambiguous use of the term state security is not a semantic accident. Apparently, in calling the MfS organs "state security," the state wants to effect a linguistic identification that makes these organs an embodiment of state security, as it were: Through this concretization, the abstract term "state security" becomes "tangible," "comprehensible."

A State Within the State?

The question whether and to what extent the State Security Service can be considered an independent factor or at least a factor that decisively influences GDR policy had already occupied Ernst Richert. Richert formulated his findings with striking restraint: "It seems safe to assume that the State Security Service--even though it is endowed with considerable powers--is nevertheless no more than an executive organ of the top control center." Richert nevertheless held there was a "plausible core" to the thesis that the State Security Service represented the actual power in the state, for "an organization that is not subject to any official or parliamentary control, that is subordinated to the central political will merely insofar as it is

manifested in its leadership, that employs exclusively full-time staff members who are clearly indoctrinated Communists and that has infiltrated its informants into all sectors of society--down to the smallest enterprises and administrative units--such an organization can only be considered a foreign body, a sinister, unknown quantity."⁵ Essentially, this description is still valid today, even if--and this must be assumed--the MfS operates in accordance with (hitherto unpublished) regulations.

The question as to the State Security Service's place within the GDR's system of government cannot be answered on the basis of the published legal regulations. The law of 8 February 1950 concerning the establishment of a Ministry for State Security (GBI [LEGAL GAZETTE] p 93) does not provide any information in this regard. It does not even define the responsibilities of the ministry. At that time, the then GDR minister of the interior, Dr Karl Steinhoff (SED)--supporting the bill in the Provisional People's Chamber--made a few brief comments: "The main task of this ministry is to protect the state-owned enterprises and plants, the transportation system and all state-owned assets against the schemes of criminal elements and against any attacks, to wage a resolute struggle against enemy agencies, diversionists, saboteurs, spies and bandits, to protect our democratic development and to insure that our democratic peace-oriented economy can fulfill the economic plans without any interference."⁶ In regard to the organizational-bureaucratic foundation, Steinhoff added only one sentence: "To accomplish these tasks, the ministry establishes in the states state security administrations that will be directly subordinated to the ministry."⁷ Thus these administrations were independent of the general administration. This setup was retained after the reorganization--based on the law of 23 July 1952 (GBI [LEGAL GAZETTE], p 613)--that converted the 5 East German states into 14 bezirks [GDR administrative unit]. The MfS has since been in charge of bezirk administrations, which--like the previous administrations in the states--are supported by kreis [GDR administrative unit] offices.

Since 1949, there have been numerous laws concerning the composition of the government or the Council of Ministers⁸ and although these laws make mention of the Ministry for State Security--along with other ministries--or expressly state the state security minister's membership in the Council of Ministers, there have never been any other regulations in this respect. The characterization of the MfS as an "organ of the Council of Ministers"⁹ does not truly reflect the reality in the SED state, because it operates "on its own responsibility"¹⁰ and because its tasks "require the employment of special means and methods."¹¹ Under these conditions, guidance and control of the MfS by the Council of Ministers--such as is exercised over the "normal" ministries--is out of the question. "Insofar" as the state security organs "also perform functions of investigative organs in criminal proceedings"--which is the case in the investigation of political crimes--"they are subject to supervision by the Public Prosecutor's Office."¹² This right of supervision is of no more than formal significance. In fact, the Ministry for State Security occupies a special position not only in comparison with other ministries:¹³ Even its administrations and offices in the bezirks and kreises are largely independent and screened off vis-a-vis other authorities. The existing contacts are of a merely cooperative nature. A constitutional law compendium states that "in regard to problems concerning state security, the councils of the local representative organs cooperate with the appropriate local organs of the Ministry for State Security." Consequently, there take place at the bezirk and kreis level "periodical deliberations of all organs that have responsibilities in the field of order and

security.... These deliberations are attended by the responsible member of the bezirk or kreis council, the head of the Department of Internal Affairs, the bezirk and kreis public prosecutor, the bezirk or kreis court judge, high-ranking members of the People's Police bezirk or kreis administration and of the bezirk or kreis administration of the Ministry for State Security. These deliberations serve to coordinate the work of the aforementioned organs."¹⁴ The special status of the State Security Service is unaffected by this coordination.

Ultimately, the crucial factor is the relationship between the Party and the State Security Service. In analyzing the interrelationship between the MfS and the SED, if one proceeds from the MfS' official self-portrayal, its self-image as the instrument of Party control is beyond any doubt. There has never been any lack of affirmations to this effect. To be sure, the times of bombast, when the MfS wanted to be a "sharp sword with which our Party implacably strikes the enemy, no matter where he has holed up"¹⁵ belong to the past, but the relationship between the Party and the State Security Service was always to be characterized by subordination. "From the outset, the Ministry for State Security organizes its work under the direction of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany," Mielke stated in retrospect (oddly using the present tense) on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of his ministry. "Creative evaluation of the resolutions and documents of the Party enables the MfS members comprehensively to assess the situation of the class struggle, to recognize the resultant security requirements and to take them into account in their practical work."¹⁶ The affirmation of loyalty has long turned into a credo: "The MfS members have always tried conscientiously to carry out all of the tasks set by the Marxist-Leninist Party. The most important prerequisite in this regard is the enforcement of the leading role of the Party within the MfS."¹⁷ But how can the Party's unconditional claim to leadership vis-a-vis the MfS be realized? And has the Party really always been able to assert its leading role within the MfS?

Party Leadership and MfS

Since according to the SED Statute, the Central Committee is to be "the highest organ of the Party" during the interim periods between the Party congresses and since it places "the representatives of the Party in the highest ruling organs of the state apparatus," its relationship to state security is of special interest here. Examining this interrelationship, one immediately notes that the minister for state security has always been a member of the SED Central Committee--an indication of his political place value in the hierarchy of power. Nevertheless, his rise to the Central Committee was always the result of an MfS career--not vice versa. When Wilhelm Zaisser was appointed minister of state security in February 1950, he held the post of minister of the interior in Saxony, without ever having exercised any special influence in the Party; nor did he at that time belong to the SED executive board. It was only after his appointment as minister of state security--which appointment was possibly made at the request of Moscow--that he was speedily coopted through membership of the Party executive board. Finally, at the Third SED Congress in 1950, he "duly" advanced to Central Committee membership, as did Erich Mielke, his state secretary who had likewise been appointed in February 1950.

A few weeks after the uprising of 17 June 1953, Zaisser lost his ministerial office. At the same time, by virtue of a resolution passed by the 15th Central Committee

Plenum, which convened from 24 to 26 June 1953, he was expelled from the SED Central Committee. Along with Rudolf Herrnstadt and other like-minded individuals, he had formed a "faction hostile to the Party" that had been pursuing a "defeatist policy aimed at destroying the unity of the Party."¹⁸ Six months later, he was expelled from the Party. Zaisser was succeeded in the office of state security head by Ernst Wollweber, who at the time of his appointment did not belong to the Central Committee either. In 1954, at the Fourth SED Congress, he was admitted to the Central Committee--for barely 4 years, whereupon he, too, was expelled from that body. On 1 November 1957, it was reported that he had resigned from his ministerial office for reasons of health; a few months later, however, it became apparent that he had contracted a political disease. On 6 February 1958, the 35th Central Committee Plenum resolved to expel Wollweber from the Central Committee,¹⁹ because he had "inexcusably neglected the struggle against hostile agencies" and also had tried "to win over other comrades to the Schirdewan faction."²⁰ Again the minister for state security had become entangled in an intra-Party oppositionist movement.

As regards the appointment of Erich Mielke to the office of minister of state security, there were no longer any problems in connection with Party cadre policy--his ranking in the nomenclature was firmly established. Since 1950, he had been a member of the Central Committee and since then his membership has been confirmed again and again.

There was another case where the MfS career was followed by advancement to the Central Committee: Bruno Beater, who since 1955 had been deputy minister for state security, was admitted to the Central Committee in 1963; at the Sixth Party Congress, he was appointed candidate and his candidacy was confirmed at the following Party congresses; finally, by virtue of a resolution passed by the 10th Plenum on 10 October 1973, he was coopted through Central Committee membership.

Every time, the advancement to the highest Party ranks had been preceded by advancement in the State Security Service. So far, there has been only one exception to this career pattern: Gerhard Heidenreich, presently Major-General, who since 1955 has headed the SED's Party organization in the MfS, had come to that position from the Party apparatus. A candidate since 1950, Central Committee member since 1963, Heidenreich was the only one to have taken the opposite course. When he started his career in the Ministry for State Security, he already belonged to the Central Committee, albeit only in the capacity of candidate. The relationship between the MfS and the Central Committee is an important criterion in regard to the political place value of the State Security Service, but it is only through examination of the interrelationship between the Politburo and the MfS that one obtains a clear picture. In the 30 years since the establishment of the MfS, its leaders had access to the SED's power and control center for a total of 12 years. Thus for most of this period, the minister of state security was not in a position directly to influence political decisions of the Party leadership.

In 1950, Wilhelm Zaisser was not only elected to the Central Committee; he was also admitted by the Central Committee to the Politburo. An outsider cannot tell whether this decision was meant to establish an equilibrium of power in the Party's leadership corps or whether it was the Soviets who had requested it (at this time, USSR state security was represented in the CPSU Politburo by L. P. Beriya). Nevertheless, it is open to question whether and to what extent the appointment of

Zaisser could be considered good in regard to the purposes of the SED. "He is a good administrator,"²¹ Walter Ulbricht later said about him--and there was some truth in that statement. Conversely, it must have been one of the most shocking experiences of the then Party leader that of all people it was the minister for state security who had rebelled against him. Not only did Ulbricht immediately expel his opponent from the Politburo: As long as he was the SED's top man, he never again allowed the MfS leader to rejoin the Party leadership. Since 1953, the minister of state security has been barred from Politburo membership. Filled with deep distrust, Ulbricht feared new conflicts. At the Central Committee Plenum, he had at that time bitterly complained about the fact that the Zaisser/Herrnstadt faction "has used the methods of the intelligence service, the so-called active observation, within the Party leadership and has tried to play off one comrade against the other."²² Such confessions are rare. "So in the Politburo there was a minister for state security who believed he could put pressure on the members of the Politburo. I am asking you: Is that the proper method for a Politburo member?"²³ What a question! Ulbricht never forgot the reply to it.

Thus Zaisser's successor, Ernst Wollweber, did not advance beyond Central Committee membership. The inner circle of power remained closed to him. But Ulbricht's caution turned out to be all too justified. In 1957, the minister for state security again joined an anti-Ulbricht fronde. Led by Karl Schirdewan, a Politburo member and Central Committee secretary in charge of organizational and cadre policy, the opposition began to pursue "the course of group formation so as to seize--by creating factions--control of the SED and of the state."²⁴ For all that, Wollweber was spared expulsion from the Party, even though in settling accounts with him the Party was none too merciful. "Consistent execution of the tasks in the Ministry for State Security was impeded by the opportunistic ideas and conduct of the former minister for state security, comrade Wollweber. His incorrect evaluation of the situation in 1956 and his underestimation of the enemy's activities against the German Democratic Republic served to give the work of the ministry a wrong and harmful orientation. As a result of this, the Ministry for State Security temporarily underestimated the activization--resulting from the intensified militarization--of the imperialist secret services and underground organizations in the German Democratic Republic. The counterrevolutionary elements' activities against the German Democratic Republic were not sufficiently heeded."²⁵ Four and a half years earlier, identical accusations had been leveled against Zaisser.

Although Mielke--a man with a past²⁶--had proved his political reliability through his many years of service in the MfS and through his Central Committee membership (since 1950), Ulbricht--as has been pointed out--kept him out of the Politburo. Even the example of the CPSU did not sway him from his course. In the Soviet Union, some of the KGB leaders following L. P. Beriia--e.g. I. A. Serov, A. N. Shelepin and V. Y. Semichastnyy--had likewise failed to gain admittance to the Politburo, but when on 18 May 1967 Yu. V. Andropov assumed control of the KGB, it took no more than 1 month before the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee made him a Politburo candidate; and at the Central Committee Plenum of April 1973, he attained full membership. And yet as far as Ulbricht was concerned, the example of the CPSU did not set a precedent. It was characteristic, however, that soon after the change of leadership in the SED Erich Honecker corrected this state of affairs and saw to it that in 1971--immediately after the Eighth SED Congress--Mielke was appointed Politburo candidate by the Central Committee. In 1976, after the Ninth Party Congress, Honecker had him elected full member. After Ulbricht's supersession,

did the successor want to assure himself of the political support of the MfS? This would be conceivable, especially since during the period, when he was in charge--in his capacity as Central Committee secretary--of the SED's military and security policy, Honecker apparently maintained close contact with Mielke. Since then, the MfS has again had a personal representative in the SED's key power and control center and undoubtedly this was intended--and has in fact brought about--a political upgrading of the MfS. Likewise, Mielke's promotion to the rank of Four-Star-General on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the MfS must be interpreted along these lines.

While the presence of the minister of state security in the Party leadership ultimately was always a question of political calculation, the Central Committee's Department for Security Matters has always given priority to the institutionalization of direction and control of state security. Even before the establishment of the Ministry for State Security, the SED executive board had formed the Department for the Protection of State Property²⁷ so as to politically supervise the internal safeguarding of its newly established power in the then Soviet zone of occupation. Upon the abolition of the Party executive board and its replacement by a Central Committee in accordance with the Statute adopted at the Third SED Congress in 1950, the department was converted into the Department for Security Matters--"Department S" in Party jargon--which to date has been retained by the Central Committee. Apart from guidance and control of the Ministry for State Security, the department now is entrusted with guidance and control of the Ministry for National Defense and of the Ministry of the Interior, including the GDR police forces, the task forces of the working class, the Society for Sport and Technology and the Civil Defense Organization; the department is headed by Colonel-General Herbert Scheibe (since 1972), while the political responsibility rests with Central Committee Secretary Paul Verner (since 1971). Herbert Scheibe--born in 1914, the son of a worker, originally a printer by trade, member (1929) of the Communist Youth League of Germany, arrested by the Nazi Regime on account of underground resistance and interned in the Buchenwald concentration camp, member (1945/46) of the KPD/SED--decided in 1947 to join the People's Police. In 1949, he switched to the military units of the People's Police, the cadres of the National People's Army (KVP/NVA); in the 1950's, as a member of the KVP/NVA general staff, he took charge of the GDR's military intelligence service, the "Intelligence Administration," an agency of the National Defense Ministry that exists alongside the Central Intelligence Administration of the MfS. Upon graduation from the Soviet Army's Moscow General Staff Academy (1957-1959), Scheibe was appointed Chief of Staff of the Air Force/Air Defense (1963, Major-General). In 1967, Ulbricht appointed him Commander in Chief (Lieutenant-General) of the Air Force/National Defense. In April 1972, Honecker promoted Scheibe to the rank of Colonel-General and put him in charge of the Central Committee's Department for Security Matters. In 1967, Scheibe was appointed Central Committee candidate and in 1975, the 14th Plenum granted him full Central Committee membership.

In contrast to the guidance and control of "normal" ministries by the respective departments of the Central Committee, the Department for Security Matters appears to restrict itself to conveying to the MfS general work guidelines and instructions concerning cadre policy and supervising the routine implementation of its resolutions--an assumption based above all on the screening-off requirements of state security vis-a-vis the Central Committee apparatus. In view of the Politburo membership of the minister for state security, relations based on subordination such

as usually exist between the Central Committee departments and the ministries are anyway inconceivable.

Central Party Control Commission and MfS

In view of the general secretiveness prevailing in the SED state, it is difficult to make definitive statements on the cooperative relations between the MfS and the Central Party Control Commission (ZPKK), but it is safe to assume that such relations did and do exist. The Party Control Commissions established in 1948 were charged with "safeguarding the purity of the Party" and "combating enemy agents within the Party."²⁸ The Statute adopted by the Third SED Congress affirmed their responsibility "for the unity and purity of the Party."²⁹ The Statute adopted by the Fourth Party Congress in 1954 even extended the powers of the ZPKK: "It protects the unity and purity of the Party and helps to unmask and destroy enemy agencies within the Party; it opposes all faction-oriented activities and removes traitors from the ranks of the Party."³⁰ But was not the "unmasking" and "destruction" of so-called enemy agencies the State Security Service's very own business? The responsibility of the MfS came and comes into play whenever the unmasking of "enemy agents" makes possible or requires their prosecution. "The special function of the security organs begins wherever they note not only ideological deviations, but signs of enemy activities and contacts with enemy centers, for subversive activities of conspiratorially concealed organizations must be fought through special methods."³¹ This statement by Wollweber establishes a clear line of demarcation between the ZPKK and the MfS. However, the fate of Paul Merker demonstrates that the decisions made in this respect always were and still are determined by political opportunism.

On the strength of an SED Central Committee resolution of 24 August 1950, Paul Merker--at that time a member of the Politburo and state secretary in the Ministry for Agriculture and Forestry--had been expelled from the Party--along with other KPD emigres to the West--and deprived of all his functions on account of contacts with the "American agent" Noel Haviland Field.³² Two years later, when in the proceedings against the "subversive conspiratorial center" of Rudolf Slansky and others the defendants Bedrich Geminder and Artur London "incriminated" Merker and branded him as "German Trotskyite," the State Security Service stepped in. On 20 December 1952, the SED Central Committee adopted a resolution that was prepared by the ZPKK and based on the ZPKK's investigations; this resolution, which was concerned with the lessons to be drawn from the Slansky Trial,³³ disparaged Paul Merker as an "American agent" and "enemy of the German working class." A few weeks before, he had been arrested. The investigations passed from the jurisdiction of the ZPKK to that of the MfS. It would be naive not to assume that cooperation was involved here, especially since the MfS considered itself the "sword of the Party" and since it had just those executive powers that the ZPKK was lacking. At the 28th Plenum in the summer of 1956, upon review of the case of Paul Merker, the Central Committee adopted a resolution according to which "the charges leveled against him are for the most part of a political nature and do not justify criminal prosecution,"³⁴ but at this time Merker had been imprisoned for nearly 4 years, without there ever having been voiced any criticism of the ZPKK for the MfS.

Incidentally, evidence of rivalries between the ZPKK and the MfS is Ulbricht's rebuke of Wilhelm Zaisser: Ulbricht pointed out "that the struggle was waged against Comrade Matern who was to be demoted from his post as chairman of the Control Commission and expelled from the Politburo."³⁵

The Party Organization and the MfS

According to Western estimates, the Ministry for State Security employs 17,000 personnel--officers, NCOs and civilian employees at all levels.³⁶ In addition, there are the soldiers of the "Feliks Dzierzynski" guard regiment; its strength is estimated at between 4,000 and 6,000 troops.³⁷ There are indications--comments by former MfS members and statements expressly referring to "the Communists in the MfS"³⁸--that by no means all of the MfS members are members of the Party. And when Major-General Heinz Gronau, the commander of the "Feliks Dzierzynski" guard regiment, points out (1967)--in proof of "good results in the sociopolitical work"--that "in the last year of training numerous soldiers of the regiment applied for Party membership or candidacy,"³⁹ he, too, thereby confirms that not all soldiers of the guard regiment are Party members. To be sure, in regard to its sociopolitical composition, the guard regiment is not typical of the MfS, but in the MfS, too, the degree of overall Party membership is by no means 100 percent: Its ranks also comprise "non-Party Communists."

The SED members in the MfS are united in the "Party organization of the Ministry for State Security."⁴⁰ The status of its leadership is equal to that of a kreis [GDR administrative unit] administration,⁴¹ whose secretariat is directly subordinated to the SED Central Committee. Although the SED Statute does not contain any provisions in this respect, the MfS Party organization operates in accordance with special instructions confirmed by the Central Committee. Apparently, the Central Committee's Department for Security Matters exercises direct guidance and control over the MfS kreis administration or its secretariat.

The necessity of such guidance and control with the object of tightening state security discipline has been repeatedly emphasized and the lack of it has been criticized. In 1953, at the 15th Central Committee Plenum, Ulbricht demanded: "The Party organization in the (then) State Secretariat for State Security must be provided with better guidance so as to enable it fully to accomplish its tasks"; at the same plenum, he had criticized an "underestimation of the Party work" and "the state security members' tendency toward arrogance vis-a-vis the Party," which state of affairs had come about "because the Party organization in the Ministry for State Security is in an ideologically and organizationally neglected state. The leading functionaries of the ministry have impeded the Party work, treating it as a matter of secondary importance."⁴² These statements by Ulbricht were addressed to Zaisser. Consequently, 9 months after this criticism Zaisser's successor Ernst Wollweber hastened to point out "that the comrades in the state security organs must always stand firm and be loyal to the Party"; according to Wollweber, such conduct was "prerequisite for truly successful work on the part of the state security organs."⁴³ Even in 1956, during the heyday of the "political thaw," Ulbricht considered it necessary to emphasize the Party's position of leadership vis-a-vis the MfS: He called to mind that according to Politburo directives "the MfS Party organization, too, must observe the Party's directives concerning intra-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism. The bezirk [GDR administrative unit] administrations have been instructed to help exercise control accordingly. The state security organs are charged with special tasks calling for a responsible approach. Thus the leading Party organs must concern themselves with this problem and they must help train the Party functionaries who work for the state security organs."⁴⁴ The present minister of state security likewise has again and again emphasized the importance of the SED's supervisory and educational work in the MfS. In 1960, he stated:

"The state security members have been trained by the party of the working class in accordance with the Leninist principles of Party-mindedness and uncompromising struggle against the enemies. They continuously and systematically study the resolutions passed by the Party and the Government."⁴⁵ In 1967, at the Seventh SED Congress, Mielke again advocated "further improvement of the Party's training program in the Ministry for State Security."⁴⁶ And finally, a few weeks before the Ninth SED Congress: "All of the Party's work is aimed at preparing the MfS members for the new tasks and to enable them better to meet all requirements."⁴⁷ Training is the crucial component of the Party's work in state security--disciplining through indoctrination and control.

According to the Statute, the SED Party organizations in the GDR ministries are organized with the internal structure of the apparatus, i.e. in conformity with the structure providing for central departments, departments and sections, they are subdivided into base organizations, departmental Party organizations and Party groups. This goes also for the MfS, although here there is a special constellation in that base organizations and Party groups exist in the MfS bezirk and kreis administrations as well. The number of personnel involved varies between 200 and 250 and in exceptional cases between 500 and 600 or 15 and 25. These base organizations and Party groups at the bezirk and kreis levels are vertically directed and controlled. This form of organization does not preclude cooperation with the Party leaderships at the corresponding levels; in fact, such cooperation apparently is desired. "To improve work performance, and training in particular, it is imperative that the Party organizations in the state security organs of the bezirks and kreises be more strongly supported by the bezirk and kreis secretaries"⁴⁸--it should be noted that this statement makes reference only to support. As far as we know, this horizontal cooperation is implemented by the first secretaries of the bezirk and kreis administrations. On a regular basis, they consult with the responsible leaders of the MfS bezirk and kreis administrations and with the secretaries and group leaders of the Party organization at the bezirk and kreis levels. Conversely, Generals and officers from the MfS bezirk and kreis authorities are periodically elected to the SED bezirk and kreis administrations.

According to the current SED Statute, the Party organizations in the ministries are entitled "to exercise control over the activities of the apparatus in regard to implementation of the Party and Government resolutions and observance of the socialist legal norms." With due regard for conspiratorial rules, this also applies to the MfS Party organization. An MfS Captain, who escaped from the GDR in 1959, reported that the Party meetings were always "discussed in advance by the departmental directors--both the directors of the central departments and those of the departments and departmental sections. Through these arrangements, the participants defined the results to be attained at the Party meeting in question. As a rule, the principal objective of such Party meetings was through political arguments to point out to the staff members of the respective departments or departmental sections that in the interest of the Party and the state it was imperative that they carry out the key tasks to the best of their ability."⁴⁹ In fact, the Party organization in the MfS holds meetings on a regular basis, at least once a month, and in addition there are the customary seminars and group meetings within the framework of the Party's annual instruction cycle.

In order to insure--in accordance with the Party Statute--"the uniform orientation of the Party workers" and "rapid information of the Party organization in regard to

basic Party resolutions and their implementation in its sphere of jurisdiction," conferences of Party activists are held. According to newspaper reports, these conferences are also used to inaugurate the Party's annual instruction cycle. At these meetings of Party activists, the MfS propagandists are instructed on the tasks at hand and on the key training problems. Thus here, too, the Party performs a specific training function in the MfS. At an MfS meeting of Party activists inaugurating the Party's 1978/79 instruction cycle, Mielke stated: "Study of the fundamental problems of Marxism-Leninism and of the policy pursued by the Party is an important precondition for the all-round fulfillment of the GDR Chekists' class mission."⁵⁰ Such affirmations are repeated in a stereotyped, monotonous fashion.

The MfS Party organization naturally also holds so-called Party elections; in accordance with the general directives of the Central Committee, these elections are held twice during the interim period between two Party congresses. As a rule, the meetings and conferences of deputies elect the unpaid and the professional secretaries of the MfS Party collectives, and in these elections the ritualization at times turns grotesque. For example, prior to the Ninth SED Congress, there took place a conference of deputies of the MfS Party organization, which was governed by the motto: "With great Chekist accomplishments, onward to the Ninth SED Congress."⁵¹ What are great Chekist accomplishments? Are they planned? To what extent are they measurable? Considering the report delivered at the conference by the leadership of the MfS Party organization, these questions are by no means asked ironically: "All Party collectives have made and are still making every effort to help prepare--through proper and punctual fulfillment of the plan and action targets--the 10th Party Congress, to familiarize themselves with the document drafts of our Party and with the documents of the 25th CPSU Congress and to draw from them the first conclusions regarding the work of the Ministry for State Security. All of the Party's work is oriented toward preparing the MfS members for the new tasks and to equip them for better meeting all requirements."⁵²

The fact that since 1955 the MfS Party organization has been headed by only one man--the aforementioned Major-General Gerhard Heidenreich--is evidence of continuity in cadre policy. Heidenreich, a confidant of the Party leader, was born on 5 October 1916 in Breslau [Wroclaw]; originally a stove-fitter by trade, the young Communist (1931, KJVD [Communist Youth League of Germany]) was sentenced by the Nazi Regime to 2 years' imprisonment. In 1945/46, he joined the KPD/SED. In Plauen/Vogtland, he was one of the co-founders of the Antifascist Youth Committee. In November 1946, he became organizational secretary in the FDJ's [Free German Youth] Saxony state administration, which at that time was headed by Robert Bialek,⁵³ and he pursued his Party career as member of the "cadre reserve." From 1947 to 1954, Heidenreich belonged to the FDJ's Central Council; so it is safe to assume that during this period he was in close contact with Honecker. In June 1949, he was appointed second secretary of the FDJ's Central Council--in which capacity he handled organizational problems--and in November 1950, he was appointed section head in the Cadre Department of the SED Central Committee. His affiliation with the "Institute for Economic Research," which at the beginning of the 1950's was incorporated in the MfS apparatus under the name of Central Intelligence Administration,⁵⁴ marks his entry into the MfS, where in 1955 he was put in charge of the Party organization. On account of his being a Central Committee candidate (since 1950) and member (since 1963), his career was well protected and it need by no means be over: Some observers feel he might succeed his minister, who after all is 8 years his senior.⁵⁵

Aside from their educational function, the SED's Party collectives in the MfS exercise internal control. According to the Party Statute, "They consistently deal with work shortcomings and mistakes." However, in the MfS apparatus, the duty "to convey the required pointers and suggestions to the appropriate Party organs or to the Central Committee" is subject to restrictions resulting from the "specific means and methods" of its work.

The PDJ organization in the MfS--like the SED Party organization--has an educational-disciplining function. And the status of its leadership likewise equals that of a special Kreis administration headed by a first secretary.⁵⁶ It goes without saying that the PDJ organization in the MfS is not nearly as significant as is the Party organization.

Conclusions

As a "special organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat,"⁵⁷ the MfS is the key instrument of control and suppression and as such is indispensable for keeping the SED in its position of power. In the 1970's, its political function in the GDR's system of government was just as important as it had been in earlier times. This is attributable to the internal consequences of the policy of detente. The conclusion of the Basic Agreement had given rise in the GDR populace to hopes for a humanitarian easing of social restrictions, for increased interpersonal contacts; from the point of view of the regime, the Basic Agreement had a "destabilizing" effect. Upon the ratification by the GDR of the two UN human rights agreements and the signing of the Helsinki CSCE Final Act, this tendency intensified and the SED tried to counteract through intensified security measures. Thus, as the MfS assumed increasing significance as an instrument of internal suppression, it became increasingly important as an instrument of offensive outside moves, irrespective of the policy of detente, espionage and subversion were intensified through exploitation of the increased possibilities concerning initiation of contacts. It is not by accident that recently Honecker again officially paid tribute and expressed his gratitude "to the courageous scouts and fighters at the invisible front."⁵⁸

Naturally, all this was bound to lead to a political upgrading of the State Security Service. This upgrading is reflected in the increased self-confidence of its officers, NCOs and civilian staff members. But in view of this development, the SED had to direct all the more attention to guidance and control of the MfS. This control is safeguarded through institutional-organizational and personnel links between the Party and the state security system and also through intensification of discipline in the SED Party organization of the MfS.

Nevertheless, failures cannot be ruled out. At all times, there have been turncoats. After the overthrow of Zaisser, Ulbricht expressly restricted his criticism to the ministry's leadership: "I did not talk about the functionaries of the state security apparatus. Why not? We know that the members of this apparatus are good, reliable comrades loyal to the Party. But due to the particular nature of the work involved in directing the ministry, the good functionaries were likewise not able to accomplish the tasks assigned to them. The state security apparatus is an apparatus made up of good comrades. It is only a small minority that failed on 17 June. It is the leadership that failed."⁵⁹ Still, "a small minority" had failed. Why? The crucial fact was the--to Ulbricht alarming--realization "that the state security system is not subject to any control, that the Party is not truly in

control."⁶⁰ The SED leadership drew the necessary conclusions. The fact that twice in the history of the GDR the minister for state security--who was responsible for the internal security of the state--was involved in internal struggles of the state Party nevertheless shows that the Party cannot be assured of absolute protection from independence moves on the part of the MfS.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ernst Wollweber at the Third Party Congress, in: "Protokoll der Verhandlungen der 3. Parteikonferenz der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [Minutes of the Discussions of the Third SED Congress], Vol 2, East Berlin, 1956, p 954.
2. Decree Concerning Establishment of the Honorary Title "Deserving State Security Member," 16 December 1969 (GESETZBLATT [LEGAL GAZETTE], 11, p 703).
3. See Ruth Klappenbach and Wolfgang Steinitz, "Woerterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache" [Dictionary of Modern German Usage], Vol 5, East Berlin, 1976, p 3531.
4. Erich Mielke, "Responsible for Safeguarding State Security. Thirty Years Ministry for State Security--Thirty Years Struggle for Socialism and Peace," EINHEIT, No 2, 1980, pp 131 ff. (p 158). In a welcoming address by the SED Central Committee on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Ministry for State Security (published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 Feb 80), the MfS members were commended for "prudent Chekist conduct."
5. Ernst Richert, "Macht ohne Mandat" [Power Without Mandate], 2nd ed., Cologne, 1963, pp 247 ff.
6. Provisional People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic (Stenographic Minutes), 10th Session, 8 February 1950, p 213.
7. Ibid.
8. In Article 4 of the law of 8 November 1950 on the GDR Government (GESETZBLATT [LEGAL GAZETTE], p 1135), the MfS was listed among the ministries "in charge of special ministers"; it was listed in third place, after the Ministry for External Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior, whereas the Ministry of Justice was named last, occupying 17th place.
9. "Kleines Politisches Woerterbuch" [Political Pocket-Dictionary], 3rd rev. ed., East Berlin, 1978, p 877.
10. Statement made by the late deputy minister president and chairman of the GDR-CDU, Otto Nuschke, at a press conference on 20 September 1957; quoted in: Karl Wilhelm Fricke, "Shield and Sword--25 Years Ministry for State Security," DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, No 2, 1975, pp 132 ff. (p 133).
11. Erich Mielke, "Bearing Great Responsibility for the Reliable Protection of Socialism...", EINHEIT, No 1, 1975, pp 43 ff.

12. "Staatsrecht der DDR. Lehrbuch" [GDR Constitutional Law. Compendium], East Berlin, 1977, p 286.
13. In this connection, it should be noted that during the period between 23 July 1953 and 24 November 1955 the MfS had formally lost its independence and had been subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior as the "State Secretariat for State Security," without in fact losing its independence.
14. "Staatsrecht der DDR...", op. cit., p 423.
15. Ernst Wollweber of the Fourth SED Congress, in: "Minutes of the Discussions of the Fourth SED Congress," Vol 2, East Berlin, 1954, pp 703 ff (p 710).
16. [Omitted!]
17. Erich Mielke, "Bearing Great Responsibility...", op. cit., p 44 (footnote 11).
18. "The New Course and the Tasks of the Party--Resolution of the 15th Central Committee Session of 26 July 1953," in: "Dokumente der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [Documents of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany], Vol 4, East Berlin, 1954, pp 449 ff. (p 471). See also Karl Wilhelm Fricke, "Opposition in the SED Leadership. A Review," DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, No 6, 1971, pp 598 ff.
19. "Resolution of the 35th Central Committee Session," in: "Dokumente...", op. cit., Vol 7, 1961, p 111.
20. "From the Politburo Report to the 35th SED Central Committee Session," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 Feb 58 (speaker: Erich Honecker).
21. Walter Ulbricht in his concluding address at the 15th Plenum, in: "Das 15. Plenum des Zentralkomitees der SED" [The 15th SED Central Committee Plenum], East Berlin, 1953, p 106 ("Internal Party Materials").
22. Ibid., p 107.
23. Ibid., p 108.
24. "Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung" [History of the German Workers' Movement], Vol 8, East Berlin, 1966, p 102.
25. "Report of the Central Committee to the Fifth Party Congress," in: "Minutes of the Discussions of the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany," Vol 2, East Berlin, 1959, pp 1417 ff. (p 1555).
26. Erich Mielke, member of the KPD [Communist Party of Germany] since 1925, had participated in the shooting of the police captains Paul Anlauf and Franz Lenck on 9 August 1931 on Buelowplatz [Buelow Square] (today Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz) in Berlin.
27. See Carola Stern, "Die SED. Ein Handbuch ueber Aufbau, Organisation und Funktion des Parteiapparates" [The SED. A Handbook on the Structure,

Organization and Function of the Party Apparatus], Cologne, 1954, p 107.
 Carola Stern, "Portrait einer bolschewistischen Partei. Entwicklung, Funktion und Situation der SED" [Portrait of a Bolshevik Party. Development, Function and Situation of the SED], Cologne, 1957, p 342.

28. "Implementing Regulations Concerning the Resolution of the Party Executive Board of 16 September 1948 Regarding the Establishment of the Party Control Commission," in: "Dokumente...", op. cit., Vol 2, East Berlin, 1952, pp 97 ff.
29. "Statute of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Resolution of the Third Party Congress," in: "Dokumente...", op. cit., Vol 3, East Berlin, 1952, pp 162 ff (p 171).
30. "Statute of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Resolution of the Fourth Party Congress," in: "Dokumente...", op. cit., Vol 5, East Berlin, 1956, pp 90 ff (p 103).
31. Ernst Wollweber, "For the Strengthening and Consolidation of Our Workers'-and-Farmers'-Power," EINHEIT, No 5, 1957, pp 551 ff (p 558).
32. "Statement of the Central Committee and of the Central Party Control Commission of 24 August 1950 Regarding the Contacts of Former German Political Emigres With the Head of the Unitarian Service Committee, Noel H. Field," in: "Dokumente...", op. cit., Vol 3, East Berlin, 1952, pp 197 ff.
33. "Lessons From the Proceedings Against the Slansky Conspiracy. Central Committee Resolution of 20 December 1952," in: "Dokumente...", op. cit., Vol 4, East Berlin, 1954, pp 199 ff.
34. "Communique of the 28th Central Committee Session of 29 July 1956," in: "Dokumente...", op. cit., Vol 6, East Berlin, 1958, pp 138 ff (p 139). This communique expressly revoked the two Central Committee resolutions of 24 August 1950 and 20 December 1952, insofar as they pertained to the Field affair.
35. Walter Ulbricht in his concluding address at the 15th Plenum, op. cit., p 107, footnote 21.
36. See "DDR Handbuch" [GDR Handbook], 2nd rev. ed., Cologne, 1979, p 738.
37. Ibid., p. 737.
 See also Thomas M. Forster, "Die NVA--Kernstueck der Landesverteidigung der DDR" [The National People's Army--Core of the GDR's National Defense], 5th rev. ed., Cologne, 1979, p 174.
38. Erich Mielke used this formulation in his speech before MfS propagandists. See "Great Fighting Strength for Fulfilling the Chekist Class Mandate," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 17 Oct 76.
39. "Soldiers of the Revolution Following the Example of F. E. Dzierzynski," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 15 Dec 67.

40. Horst Berger and Herbert Menge, "State Security Fully Guaranteed," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 Apr 76. The article quoted reports on the "conference of deputies of the MfS Party organization."
41. See Gero Neugebauer, "Partei und Staatsapparat in der DDR" [Party and State Apparatus in the GDR], Opladen, 1978, p 29.
42. Walter Ulbricht, "The Policy of the Party--Its Achievements and Mistakes," in: The 15th SED Central Committee Plenum, op. cit., p 73, footnote 21.
43. Ernst Wollweber at the Fourth Party Congress, op. cit., p 704, footnote 15.
44. Walter Ulbricht, "Reply to Questions of the SED's Berlin Conference of Bezirk Deputies," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 Mar 56.
45. Erich Mielke, "Ten Years of Struggle Against the Enemies of Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 Feb 60.
46. Erich Mielke at the Seventh Party Congress, in: "Minutes of the Discussions of Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany," Vol 3; East Berlin, 1967, pp 415 ff (p 419).
47. Quoted in: Horst Berger and Herbert Menge, "State Security....," op. cit., footnote 40.
48. Ernst Wollweber at the Third Party Congress, in: "Minutes of the Discussions of the Third Congress....," op. cit., Vol 2, East Berlin, 1956, pp 947 ff (p 954).
49. Statement made by the MfS Captain Max Hein who defected in 1959 (private archives).
50. "Great Fighting Strength....," op. cit., footnote 38.
51. "State Security Fully Guaranteed," op. cit., footnote 40.
52. Ibid.
53. After his escape to West Berlin in 1956, Robert Bialek was abducted to East Berlin, where he died while being detained by the MfS. See Karl Wilhelm Fricke, "Politik und Justiz in der DDR. Zur Geschichte der politischen Verfolgung 1945-1968" [Politics and Justice in the GDR. Observations on the History of Political Persecution, 1945-1968], Cologne, 1978, p 338.
54. See Karl Wilhelm Fricke, "The Main Administration for Intelligence Collection. Objectives, Structure, Modus Operandi," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 10, 1979, pp 1043 ff.
55. All of the personal data submitted in this article were obtained from: Guenther Buch, "Namen und Daten" [Names and Dates], 2nd rev. ed., Berlin/Bonn, 1979.

56. See "FDJ Central Council Honored Chekists," JUNGE WELT, 29 Jan 70.
57. Erich Mielke, "Bearing Full Responsibility...", op. cit., p 43, footnote 11.
58. "Thanks and Appreciation for the Reliable Protection of the GDR--Salutatory Message by the SED Central Committee on the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Ministry for State Security," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 Feb 80.
59. Walter Ulbricht in his closing address at the 15th Central Committee Plenum, op. cit., p 103, footnote 21.
60. Ibid.

HVA--Foreign Espionage

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 12 No 10, Oct 79 signed to press 28 Sep 79 pp 1043-1055

['Analyses and Reports' feature article by Karl Wilhelm Fricke: "Main Administration for Intelligence Collection (HVA): Objectives, Structure, Modus Operandi"]

[Text] The fact that serious espionage scandals occurred in the FRG as early as the 1950's and 1960's is small comfort in view of the "secret war on German territory"¹ in the 1970's. On the contrary, the disclosures on GDR espionage in the 1970's are all the more irritating, as they occurred during the period of East-West detente. Trusting contemporaries had expected this detente to produce at least a truce at the "invisible front," an end to that inexorable conflict in the dark which more than anything else generates political distrust at a time when a minimum of mutual trust is indispensable.

However, the policy of peaceful coexistence--as defined and practiced by the SED--does not rule out espionage. Just as the SED in its ideology and propaganda makes a distinction between just and unjust wars--irrespective of whether they are waged as offensive wars or defensive wars--it distinguishes between just and unjust, good and bad espionage. For the SED, the matter is quite simple: Whoever spies for the GDR is paid tribute as a "fighter at the invisible front," as a "scout for peace" and whoever engages in espionage against the GDR is an "enemy of peace," even an "enemy of mankind." No less a person than Erich Mielke, Politburo member and minister for state security, disavowed this--admittedly exaggerated abridgement--as inadmissible defamation: "The work of socialist scouts fully conforms to the humanistic essence of socialist policy. It is an integral part of our struggle for the interests of the nations, for a peaceful way of life and against war and the threat of war, and it has nothing in common with the peace-threatening and inhuman activities of imperialist intelligence services."² Viewing matters from this point of view, the SED can easily reconcile espionage and peaceful coexistence.

GDR Espionage and Germany Policy

Generally speaking, this attitude is not at variance with the Basic Agreement concluded by the two German states, and on several occasions, East Berlin had unequivocally pointed this out. When Guenter Guillaume was unmasked and arrested for his espionage activities in the Federal Chancellor's Office,³ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND repudiated the criticism concerning the unscrupulous practices of the GDR Secret Service, smugly stating "that the existence of the GDR Intelligence Service and of the FRG's Federal Intelligence Service--agencies that obviously pursue fundamentally different objectives--does not entail any changes in the basic conditions underlying the relationship between the two German states. After all, at the conclusion of the Basic Agreement between the GDR and the FRG, their existence was well-known and the agreement does not contain any provisions stipulating their abolition."⁴ There is no room for quibbling here. However, the Basic Agreement is no warrant for expansion of the GDR's espionage against the FRG--and such an expansion could indeed be observed in the 1970's. Even though the GDR--in taking this approach--does not formally violate the agreement or international law, it is a question of political morals whether one should do and own up to it, whether one should actually encourage it. Nevertheless, under the auspices of Erich Honecker espionage became a "patriotic deed": In 1970, the subsequent Party leader bluntly requested the members of the Ministry for State Security (MfS) "systematically to make use of all social capacities for the struggle against the enemy, increasingly to enlist the citizens of the German Democratic Republic, and in the enemy camp to recruit new patriots for the struggle at the invisible front."⁵ Essentially, nothing has changed in this respect since the coming into effect of the Basic Agreement. In the 1970's, Mielke--voicing the official position--even attributed increasing importance to the activities of his secret service: "In the struggle against all hostile plans, designs and machinations of imperialism, the activity of socialist scouts at the invisible front is assuming increasing importance."⁶ Honecker--speaking at the Second SED Central Committee Plenum in 1976--was even more direct: He derided the--in his opinion unrealistic--reports on the GDR by the "Federal Republic's Intelligence Service," stating self-assuredly: "We do not intend to publish reports of our intelligence service on the situation in the Federal Republic of Germany, in the Bonn Government, in the leadership of the CDU/CSU or in the Bonn Defense Ministry. But there is no doubt that we are somewhat better informed."⁷ In view of the experience of the 1970's, when GDR agents penetrated top-level political and military decision-making centers in the FRG, such statements appear to be fully justified.

Key Organs of GDR Espionage

In regard to the secret intelligence services of the GDR, the observations made by Carl Buchheist 10 years ago are still valid today: "Down to the last detail, the organizational structure of the Soviet security and intelligence services⁸ serves as a model for the other Eastern Bloc states: juxtaposition of the civilian and the military service under strict Party control; the armed forces do not have their own counterintelligence service, since their security is safeguarded by the all-powerful civilian service, which also controls the foreign intelligence service, the counterintelligence service and the secret police (controlled by a minister or a committee chairman)."⁹ Similar to the KGB, the Ministry for State Security¹⁰ also is in charge of the GDR's foreign espionage. In the MfS, the principal organization for all intelligence-related activities is the Main Administration for

Intelligence Collection (HVA), that is to say the HVA is entrusted with the procurement and evaluation of secret information from the Federal Republic and other nonsocialist countries; it engages in active misinformation and it is also responsible for the recruitment, training and assignment of agents.

There is a military foreign intelligence service--the Intelligence Administration at the Ministry for National Defense--which is independent of the HVA. The GDR's military intelligence service, which was established in 1952 and which temporarily went by the names of "General Administration," "Administration 19" or "Administration for Coordination," is not connected with the counterintelligence service, which is under the jurisdiction of the MfS; rather, it is entrusted with procuring tactical information and military-technical data; its intelligence-collecting efforts are focused on the Federal Armed Forces and on the NATO forces stationed in the Federal Republic. In terms of overall weight, the Intelligence Administration ranks far below the HVA.

The history of the HVA dates back to 1951, when the GDR began to establish a foreign intelligence service in the form of the "Institute for Economic Research," which was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry for External Affairs (official in charge: State Secretary Anton Ackermann, who also was a candidate of the SED Politburo¹¹). After the uprising of 17 June 1953, the Institute was "dissolved," i.e. in the course of the reorganization of the GDR security organs it was incorporated--as Central Department XV--in the State Secretariat for State Security, which had been established after Wilhelm Zaisser's overthrow. This organizational setup was retained after the restoration of the MfS under Ernst Wollweber. "In 1956, the Central Department XV was renamed 'Main Administration for Intelligence Collection' (HVA) and--without there being any administrative connection with the other MfS agencies--directly subordinated to the minister for state security."¹² From the beginning, the HVA was headed by Ministerial Deputy Markus Wolf¹³ who in 1966 was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General. Essentially, it was Markus Wolf who developed the HVA and turned it into an efficient espionage apparatus.

Like the other sections of the MfS, the HVA has always been subject to guidance and control by the Soviet security organs; it goes without saying, however, that precisely in this field the original regimentation has been replaced by comradely cooperation. The success of the HVA has compelled the "Soviet friends'" admiration, but this success has not made the Russians relinquish their control. East Berlin has repeatedly drawn attention to its close contacts with the KGB, which pursues its own objectives through a special staff of liaison officers, and with the intelligence services of the other Warsaw Pact states. "The Ministry for State Security discharges its responsibility through close cooperation with the security organs of the socialist fraternal states--a cooperation that is based on our Marxist-Leninist ideology, on the stable alliance of our parties, states and peoples and on our common goals and methods. Of special importance in this regard is the staunch fighting alliance with the Soviet Chekists."¹⁴ Such affirmations are more than verbal set exercises. Conversely, the HVA is of great importance for the secret intelligence services of the Soviet Bloc, because its work is facilitated by the conditions in divided Germany.

In contrast to the foreign espionage services, the control officers, couriers, instructors and agents employed in the FRG by the GDR Intelligence Service actually work in the same country; they do not face any language barriers, nor do they

consider themselves alien; they move about self-assuredly, without any constraint; they share the mentality and traditions of the people and in recruiting secret agents they can take advantage of various family and kinship ties, friendship, a common background and other social links, including contacts provided by tourism. The intelligence services of the other Warsaw Pact states, which likewise operate in the FRG, cannot avail themselves of such advantages. This does not keep them from working in the FRG, and the Soviet intelligence services in particular infiltrate their agents into the FRG not only via "legal residences" in their diplomatic missions, but also from the GDR. Nevertheless, of the espionage projects exposed in the 1970's, no more than 15 to 20 percent were attributable to the Eastern intelligence services. The GDR intelligence services, in particular the HVA, accounted for the outsized remainder. But it goes without saying that the HVA does not withhold from the Russians any significant findings. The Russians are informed about all important events.

The Structure of the HVA

According to the findings of Western counterintelligence agencies, the HVA is headed by staff officers under the command of Markus Wolf; this staff is in charge of departments and departmental sections, whose tasks are sharply defined. The staff maintains contact with the KGB liaison officers and also with an office of the Party leadership. For the SED keeps up its indoctrination and control--in the HVA no less than in other MfS sections. "Under the leadership of the Party, all our energies toward fulfillment of the Chekist class mandate"--this was the motto chosen for the 1978/79 Party elections in the MfS Party organization, which is controlled by a kreis administration directly subordinated to the SED Central Committee. The report of the kreis administration, which expressly made a distinction between "intelligence" and "counterintelligence," stated: "The crucial foundation for the continued success of the Ministry for State Security is the leadership provided by our Marxist-Leninist Party, the trustful cooperation with the working class and all working people and the staunch fighting alliance with the Soviet Chekists and the members of the fraternal organs of the other socialist countries."¹⁵ Such maxims are of fundamental significance. In the HVA as well as elsewhere in the MfS, Party control "from above" is insured by the head of the Party organization, Major-General Gerhard Heidenreich, and control "from below," by the Party's base organizations; it should be noted, however, that this calls for observance of certain conspiratorial rules.

The HVA presently comprises approximately 20 departments¹⁶ which operate independently in accordance with their function--collection, evaluation or administration. Department I is entrusted with the investigation of FRG ministries and Federal agencies. It appears that Guenter Guillaume was one of its "officers for special duty." Department II concentrates its activities on the Federal Republic's parties, trade unions, associations and churches. The "other West European countries" are assigned to Department III, which also "takes care of" Western diplomats accredited in East Berlin. The information procured by these three departments is analyzed and incorporated into reports by Department VII, that is to say that Department VII is coordinated with the above departments and turns to account the "data acquired" for political objectives.

Department IV of the HVA is in charge of military espionage; for the most part, it pursues objectives that are essential to military-strategic planning. The husband-

and-wife team of Lothar and Renate Lutze,¹⁷ who "worked" for many years in the Federal Defense Ministry and who on 18 June 1981 were sentenced to long prison terms by the Duesseldorf Supreme Court, appear to have been in the employ of Department IV.

Department V of the HVA is concerned exclusively with evaluation. Its sphere of responsibility comprises the science/technology sector and it receives data from the corresponding procurement departments: Department VIII: Basic Research and Nuclear Engineering; Department XIV: Electronics; Department XV: Military Technology.

Functions of a supportive nature are no less important for success: Department VI concerns itself with the illegal infiltration and "legal emigration" of agents to the Federal Republic and other countries; it provides them with the proper background, the requisite documents, etc. Department VIII likewise performs a supportive function; it deals with "operational technology" and--if need be--provides special training. Among other things, this department turns out "containers," superbly camouflaged receptacles for transporting espionage materials; it produces special cameras, listening devices and similar tools of the trade.

Erich Mielke once stated one must "offensively penetrate the conspiracy of the enemies"¹⁸ and Department IX takes this literally. This department is responsible for fighting enemy secret services through active penetration by its own agents. The case of Horst Hesse, which will be discussed in greater detail below, is a typical example: Disguised as a refugee, Hesse had in 1953 infiltrated an American secret service agency in Wuerzburg; after 3 years, he had returned to the GDR, taking along with him three small safes containing documents.

Department X performs a directly political function. The official, paraphrasing term "active measures" actually stands for screening.

Department XI and Department XII are known to be engaged in intelligence collection: Target areas are the United States/Canada and the countries of the Third World. For the sake of completeness, one should mention the departments XVII to XIX, administrative departments that apparently take care of filing, coding and archival materials; naturally, they are equipped with electronic data processing installations. Department XX is in charge of the training of HVA staff members, and Department XXI is responsible for "rear services."

The HVA headquarters is located in a large complex of buildings on 22 Normannenstrasse, Berlin-Lichtenberg, i.e. at the headquarters of the Ministry for State Security. According to estimates, the HVA employs 1,500 personnel, most of whom are officers, while some are civilian employees. Vertically, the HVA is subdivided into departments at the bezirk level, the departments XV that are part of every MfS bezirk administration. For all of the key HVA departments, there is an equivalent department at this level. The supervisory officers at the bezirk administrations likewise direct agents on Western missions, and in this respect one notes certain geographic correlations. For example, the Rostock Bezirk Administration is responsible for Schleswig-Holstein, while the Leipzig Bezirk Administration is in charge of North Rhine-Westphalia.

The HVA's range of action can be discerned from its structure, even though in the 1970's the focus of its operations showed great variation. For a certain period, the main emphasis was on military espionage--aside from political and economic espionage; of late, however, there has been a pronounced upgrading of industrial and economic espionage, especially in the fields of electrical engineering, electronics, defense industry (above all automobile and shipbuilding) and nuclear energy. The HVA has been specializing in the so-called computer espionage: In West German industrial concerns, agents copy computer tapes that are then analyzed in East Berlin for the benefit of the innovation planners in the state-owned industry. Missions of a preparatory or supportive nature account for a significant share of the agents' activities; such missions include the "clearing" of individuals for "intelligence-procurement contacts," courier services, services of a technical nature, etc.

Cadre Policy and Recruitment of Agents

The cadres intended for full-time HVA work are subjected to a strict selection process; the HVA obviously wants qualified experts distinguished by a high degree of political reliability; SED membership is a *sine qua non*. The officers and civilian employees of the HVA--like all MfS staff members--are as a rule "recruited" or "delegated" through Party mandate. Personal applications are rare. "Only those who are cool-headed, inspired and undefiled can be Chekists...they must be as clear as a crystal."¹⁹ This cynically glorifying maxim by F. E. Dzierzynski [Dzerzhinskyy] is often quoted. Nevertheless, the HVA presently needs--more so than the other MfS sections--"qualified cadres with extensive technical skills."²⁰ The demand "to train the MfS members so as to make them universally educated persons" was confirmed by Mielke as early as 1963 when he stated: "Thus aside from the current political and technical training that is carried out in the ministry, many of our staff members take correspondence and evening courses in the various technical fields. Moreover, staff members of the ministry are delegated to regular courses of study."²¹ Undoubtedly, this applies to the HVA staff members in particular. It appears that the HVA provides especially thorough training for agents--both those illegally infiltrated and "legal" emigres--who are supposed to work in the FRG as "scouts" or control officers ("illegal residents"). It was learned from a number of criminal proceedings that top agents are guided by control officers who themselves live in the Federal Republic. They maintain personal contact with the spies at the scene of action; they handle financial matters, receive espionage-related materials and pass these materials on to East Berlin. Thus the spies are spared the "personal meeting" in East Berlin, which generally speaking is still the most frequent mode of contact.

The HVA agents working as "illegal residents"--which category also comprises women--are recruited exclusively on an "ideological basis," since it is imperative that they be absolutely reliable.

As regards the HVA's recruitment of secret agents, the annual reports of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution--which are published on a regular basis by the Ministry of the Interior and which were evaluated for the present study--show that it takes place for the most part on GDR territory, less frequently in the Federal Republic or in other Western countries. Usually, the first contacts are made on the occasion of private or business trips to the GDR, especially trips to the Leipzig Fair, but also tourist travel. For the initiation of contacts, the

HVA also values vacation sojourns at the Bulgarian Black Sea coast. Very rarely does the HVA rely on accidental encounters. In most cases, the individuals accosted are taken aback by the surprisingly thorough knowledge of their private and professional circumstances. The recruitment project is carefully prepared. In the second half of the 1970's, the HVA increasingly contacted GDR citizens who had applied for emigration to the Federal Republic. The MfS tried to make the granting of the exit permit dependent on a commitment to engage in espionage.

Citizens of the FRG have frequently been contacted through the mails; in these cases, advertisements in Western newspapers offered lucrative positions, that is to say the State Security Service offered "free-lance work" for fictitious firms, or offers were made in reply to job applications. "The correspondence was initiated primarily with journalists, students and commercial clerks. They were offered part-time jobs involving preparation of reports on certain subject areas--primarily economics and technology--or free-lance work. Students were asked to participate in an exchange of technical information."²² Students in particular are contacted so as to win them over as "long-term agents."²³

Ordinarily, the recruitment of agents is a banal and frequently repulsive process, for financial enticement, baiting by means of entry or exit permits, immunity from prosecution for alleged or actual--occasionally even provoked--violations of the law, premature release from prison, recruitment "under false colors"--all this is as customary as is coercion through blackmail based on comprising lapses. The HVA has never been very squeamish in regard to the choice of its methods.

A dirty chapter in the history of GDR espionage is the systematic recruitment of single secretaries involving deliberate abuse of interpersonal bonds. After having established themselves as passionate lovers or husbands-to-be, the HVA "Romans" reveal their identity as secret service officers and force the women--who frequently have become dependent on them--to engage in espionage. The Kahlig-Scheffler case is a typical example of this approach.

Model Case Kahlig-Scheffler

Dagmar Kahlig-Scheffler, nee Rinkus, was born on 11 October 1946 in Schweina, Thuringia and grew up in Bavaria. In the summer of 1973, during a vacation in Bulgaria's sunny beaches, Dagmar Kahlig-Scheffler--now a divorcee with a child, who worked as a secretary at Bonn University--met the GDR Secret Service Officer "Herbert Schroeter." Schroeter skillfully simulated understanding and love. A relationship developed; she visited him in East Berlin and he promised to marry her--and very soon, after a few months, the "officer seconded for special duty" confronted the secretary with the alternative either to work with him for the MfS or to terminate the relationship. Dagmar Kahlig-Scheffler committed herself in writing to work as a secret agent. After the "spy for love" had placed her child in a boarding school, she (unsuccessfully) applied--in accordance with instructions--for a position as secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But her application at the Federal Chancellor's Office was successful; on 1 December 1975, she started working there as a secretary.

Up to her arrest on 4 May 1977, she supplied her employers in the HVA with all the information accessible to her in her field of work. In its decision upon appeal of 28 February 1979, the Federal Supreme Court subsequently arrived at the following

announcement: "Mrs Kahlig-Scheffler was not only the secretary of the director of the Federal Chancellor's Office department in charge of all matters pertaining to the unification of Europe and the relations with West Europe; she also acted for the executive secretary of the director of the group comprising this department. As required by the daily schedule, she substituted for the executive secretary after regular office hours, and from the change of residence of the Chancellor's Office at the beginning of July 1976 until her arrest at the beginning of May 1977--during this period, she shared with the executive secretary the outer office of the group director--she also substituted for the executive secretary, whenever the latter was absent or overworked. Thus the extent of her access to official records of the Federal Chancellor's Office was determined by the group director's range of jurisdiction. The group director received all written reports by the departments of his group and the reports of other departments and departmental sections prior to their submission to the Federal Chancellor. As the senior group director, he also acted for the head of the departments of the Chancellor's Office that are in charge of all foreign and inner-German relations and of external security. Within the framework of her responsibilities--including those derived from her substitute duties--Mrs Kahlig-Scheffler had access to all records intended for the group director, up to classification level 'VS-Secret.' Thus she was employed in a position that was highly security-sensitive and as an agent she represented a very serious threat. Moreover, she apparently tried--within the limits prescribed by considerations concerning her own safety--to use every opportunity for passing on to her employers materials of interest to an intelligence service. She conveyed to the contact persons whatever she had been able to commit to memory and as many documents as she was able to obtain. She came up with a number of apparently practicable ideas concerning suitable transport containers that were to enable her to take the cassettes for the dictaphones used in the Chancellor's Office out of the building. It was on account of the arrest of the defendant that these ideas could not be implemented."²⁵

As was revealed during the taking of evidence, the State Security Service in East Berlin even had staged a fictitious wedding with Schroeter. On 5 October 1978, the State Supreme Court sentenced Dagmar Kahlig-Scheffler--on the ground of secret service activity under especially aggravating circumstances in coincidence with corruption and betrayal of official secrets--to 3 years imprisonment, while the agents directing her, the husband-and-wife team of Peter and Gudrun Goslar, who had infiltrated the FRG from the GDR, were sentenced to 3 years and 1 year, 10 months imprisonment, respectively. The aforementioned decision of the Federal Supreme Court reversed the decision passed in the first instance and returned the case to the Dusseldorf State Supreme Court. The decision of 4 May 1979 raised the sentence to 4 years and 3 months imprisonment for the principal defendant, and for Peter and Gudrun Goslar, to 4 years and 2 years, 3 months, respectively.

But no matter how severe the sentence may be considered, it is out of all proportion to what would be in store for a secretary recruited by a Western intelligence service in the office of the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. Such a case did in fact occur. On 4 March 1955, the secretary Elli Barczatis on the secretarial staff of Otto Grotewohl was arrested. Under the code name of "Gaensebluemchen" [Daisy], she had worked for a number of years for the then "Gehlen Organization." In 3 October 1955, she and her contact man--and fiance--Karl Laurenzen were sentenced to death on the ground of espionage and a few months later they were executed.²⁶

The Kahlig-Scheffler case demonstrates both method and unscrupulousness. There is a schematic pattern: "The MfS infiltrates secret agents equipped with false papers into the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western countries. They are instructed to entrap for intelligence purposes single women, especially secretaries. The course of the intelligence-related recruitment is adapted to the given personal circumstances. The first contacts are established in a natural fashion: through an "accidental" meeting in a cafe, through assistance lent to a neighbor repairing his automobile, through job-related contacts, etc. How far this playing with the sentiments of the victim is taken depends on the individual case. Matters may stay at the level of friendship, but there may also be an engagement or a wedding by order of the MfS."²⁷ In this way, a state of dependence is established as a basis for espionage.

A case in point was the arrest of two secretaries in the spring of this year, which arrest then triggered the flight of another four secretaries: On 2 February, the 38-year-old secretary Ingrid Garbe was arrested in Brussels on suspicion of espionage. Up to her arrest, she had worked as a secretary in the Political Department of the FRG's Permanent Mission with NATO. Preliminary investigations showed that she was the girlfriend of a control officer who had lived in Brussels under the name of a German residing in Canada. On 5 March, apparently in response to her arrest, the 40-year-old secretary Ursula Lorenzen, who had been employed at the NATO General Secretariat, fled to East Berlin.

A real chain reaction was triggered by the arrest of the 34-year-old secretary Ursula Hoefs on 7 March. Along with her husband Juergen Hoefs--whose real name is Siegfried Gaebler: Using the biographical data of another individual living in the GDR, he had entered the FRG in 1965--she had since 1972 been spying for the HVA at the headquarters of the CDU, in the Konrad-Adenauer-House in Bonn. Upon the arrest of Ursula and Juergen Hoefs, three secretaries fled to East Berlin: The first to escape--on 10 March--was the 38-year-old Inge Goliath, who had been working for the CDU deputy Dr Werner Marx. On 12 March, there followed the 31-year-old Christel Bronzey, who had been employed as a secretary in the office of the CDU deputy Prof Kurt Biedenkopf. And on 19 March, there absconded to East Berlin the 44-year-old Helga Roedinger; since 1974, she had been working as a secretary in the Federal Ministry of Finance, and previously she had worked for 3 years in the Federal Chancellor's Office. Now things had been getting too hot for the "spies for love."

The Influence-Exerting Agent

Among the exceptional cases, in which the recruitment of agents is based on political conviction, is the recruitment of the so-called influence-exerting agents. The influence-exerting agent differs from the ordinary agent working in the espionage twilight in that he or she does not procure information--at least not as a primary concern; rather, on behalf of "his" secret service, he tries to exert an influence on the policy in his country. Buchheit actually regards the employment of influence-exerting agents as a "fighting method of Communism"; he considers the influence-exerting agent "a modern variant of the old 'agent provocateur'" who "provokes inappropriate reactions, as it were."²⁸ To be sure, the HVA has no monopoly in regard to influence-exerting agents, but we know from past experience that it incessantly tries to recruit such agents at key decision-making centers so as to be able to influence the decisions to be made.

In the history of the Federal Republic, influence-exerting agents have been unmasked on several occasions.²⁹ A case in point is that of the wholesale merchant Hanna-Heinz Porst, who on 8 July 1969 was sentenced by the Federal Supreme Court--on the ground of having committed high treason--to 2 years and 9 months imprisonment and a fine of DM 10,000. It was established that in 1953 in Leipzig he had been recruited by the GDR Secret Service. According to the indictment, "From February 1955, he successfully tried--by order of the MfS--to attain a central position in the Free Democratic Party (FDP) of the Federal Republic, in which position he would be able to give the MfS secret access to crucial materials concerning the political plans of the FDP leadership and the--FDP-supported--policy of the Federal Government and at the same time to help the MfS exert an influence on the pertinent decisions regarding party and government policy."³⁰ Proceeding with great prudence, Porst tried to influence the FDP--not only through personal contacts with its then chairman, Dr Erich Mende, but also by means of money gifts (that in part were supplied by the MfS); at the same time, he passed on information from the FDP (which did not comprise any state secrets, to be sure) to the HVA. In pronouncing the judgment, the judge stated: "Porst was an extremely dangerous influence-exerting agent and information procurer and he was a central figure in the intelligence game played by the MfS."³¹

Influence-exerting agents are never recruited from the ranks of the DKP [German Communist Party]. Recruitment of agents among DKP members is generally taboo. In principle, the activity of the GDR Secret Service is not to be mixed up with the political struggle of the DKP; this policy is to prevent political compromise of the "revolutionary party of the working class in the Federal Republic of Germany." Now as ever, this is an unwritten rule of the HVA, but it does not necessarily preclude cooperation between the DKP and the GDR Secret Service in an acute crisis situation.

For the KPD of the Weimar Republic, such cooperation between Party cadres and the state intelligence service--in this case the Soviet Intelligence Service--was not an uncommon occurrence.³² At that time, German Communists were a preferred target of the Red Army's General Staff. In her interesting--because highly informative--memoirs entitled "Sonjas Rapport" [Sonja's Report], the 72-year-old Ruth Werner, a comrade since 1926 who presently lives as a writer in East Berlin and who is the sister of the economic historian Juergen Kuczynski, describes her career as "scout" of the Soviet military intelligence service in China--where she worked for some time with the "master spy" Dr Richard Sorge³³--and also in Poland, Switzerland and England. After the war--having risen to the rank of Major--she was discharged. Aside from being instructed in the basic rules of underground work, her training program included radio transmission, target practice and the handling of explosives. As a biographical highlight, we would like to quote here her experience at the East Berlin "Office for Information," where she was employed after 1953: "Once, when I had forgotten to lock the safe--it did not contain any confidential materials--I was censured by the Party for 'insufficient vigilance' and it was suggested that I resign. I was given an unfavorable evaluation. Among other things, I was criticized for 'petit-bourgeois tendencies.' I was not able to dismiss this as an 'irony of fate'--I could not cope with it."³⁴ She then decided to become a writer.

For the sake of completeness, we would like to mention here the infiltration of Western escape-aid organizations by MfS agents. Here the MfS' desire to expose escape-aid activities is bound up with the possibility to infiltrate into the

Federal Republic agents disguised as escape-assistants or refugees. Thus the State Security Service is free to step in only when such intervention is opportune. At the same time, the infiltration of escape-aid organizations shows that there is no clear dividing line between the offensive work and the defensive function of the State Security Service, but that the external intelligence organs and the internal security organs cooperate--which actually is a simple matter as they live under the same roof. Nevertheless, it does not happen overly frequently that "socialist scouts" step forward as witnesses for the prosecution in public trials at the GDR Supreme Court. The sentence passed on 19 October 1967 against the defendants Herbert Latinsky and Hermann Huettentrauch mentions nine witnesses for the prosecution; their "specific knowledge" is explained as follows: "Most of these witnesses had cooperated--partly with the approval of the GDR security organs--with the BND [Federal Intelligence Service] and the CIA or they had directly experienced the increasingly dangerous practices and the cooperation between the secret services and their disguised branches and between the services and the West German concerns."³⁵ Thus the employment of MfS "agents provocateurs" was publicized by a GDR court.

Espionage and Psychological Warfare

Beginning with Issue 27, the East Berlin weekly HORIZONT serialized (11 sequels) the "Erinnerungen eines deutschen Kommunisten" [Reminiscences of a German Communist], which eventually will be brought out as a book; these reminiscences differ from other memoirs in that they were written "from the point of view of a red scout": The--presently retired--journalist and former GDR ambassador Gerhard Kegel talks about his intelligence work in the service of the Soviet espionage organs in Warsaw prior to World War II. "I cannot yet fully reveal some of the details of my activities as a red scout," he states in the introduction. "Even though decades have passed since those days, there is good reason to exercise reserve in regard to certain details."³⁶ Could it be that certain details would allow one to draw conclusions concerning present activities and that these details must therefore be concealed?

Kegel's series of articles fully conforms with that Eastern agitation that aims to glorify the work and the missions of agents of spies. It was to this end that during the GDR National Youth Festival, which was held at Whitsuntide at the Friedrichshain in East Berlin, there was established a "scout meeting-place" at which young FDJ blueshirts were introduced to "comrades who by order of the Ministry for State Security fought for many years at the invisible front--comrades such as Horst Hesse, Ursula Kirmse and Dr Heinz Mende."³⁷ At a time when almost every week an espionage case is uncovered in the FRG, such patriotic glorification of former agents and spies aims to politically justify their work for the present and the future. At the same time, the quasi-official disclosures, including the reminiscences of prominent ex-agents--serve not only to glorify their missions at the "invisible front," but also to generate political uncertainty. Espionage and psychological warfare are two sides of one and the same coin.

This combination is "institutionalized" in the HVA's aforementioned Department X, which for years has been floating both true and misleading information; it is unlikely that without its approval the disclosures and reminiscences from the secret service milieu could have been published. Its objective is the manipulation of opinion by means of misinformation. An illustrative example of systematic

misinformation is the recent voluminous book by Albrecht Charisius and Julius Mader, which is entitled "Nicht laenger geheim" [No Longer Secret] and which deals with the development, system and modus operandi of the German intelligence service;³⁸ in spite of its inferior quality, this work is likely to produce a political effect. There is no doubt that in this case, too, the HVA's Department for Misinformation was a key contributing force. It can be assumed that there are contacts with the East Berlin "Institute for International Politics and Economics" (IPW), for there is unequivocal evidence that aside from comprehensive economic analysis of the social and economic conditions in the FRG--analysis aiding the decision-making process of the GDR rulers--it is entrusted with generating misinformation. It is regarded as established "that the Ministry for State Security exerts a considerable influence on the IPW--both in regard to material problems and in regard to personnel matters."³⁹

Occasionally, however, the misinformation organs make mistakes. In the hope of forgetfulness, the ex-agent Horst Hesse, whose most recent appearance occurred at the "scout meeting-place" during the GDR Whitsun Festival, has been presented twice to the public by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND--albeit in two different roles. In 1956, the leading SED paper introduced him as an escapee who had remorsefully returned, "who before his flight from the republic in May 1953 had worked as a precision mechanic in a state-owned Magdeburg heavy machine building plant. It was in West Berlin that he fell into the clutches of individuals recruiting agents. His first assignments were espionage jobs in the GDR. Subsequently, Horst Hesse was ordered to go to West Germany." In West Germany, he claimed to have worked at an office of the MID [Military Intelligence Department]. "Over there, I was a full-time staff member at the Wuerzburg branch of the MID, an American intelligence organization, and on 20 May of this year, I voluntarily came to the GDR and gave myself up to the security organs."⁴⁰ Two decades later, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND itself destroyed this legend. Now Horst Hesse had become "one of the comrades who unselfishly and courageously carry out their missions as scouts of peace at the invisible front." According to a detailed article, Hesse--posing as a refugee--had in 1953 infiltrated the aforementioned agency by order of the State Security Service. After 3 years on this assignment, he reported back to the GDR authorities. "Horst Hesse delivered all of the espionage documents of the Wuerzburg intelligence center to the right address. Numerous agents were eliminated.... Upon his safe return, Comrade Hesse worked as an officer in the Ministry for State Security. He was awarded high decorations, e.g. the National Distinguished Service Badge."⁴¹ Hesse's experience provided the raw material for the GDR thriller "For Eyes Only" (1963), the scenario of which was written by Harry Thuerk--the very author who this year created a stir with the dime-novel entitled "Der Gaukler" [The Conjuror], in which Alexander Solzhenitsyn was exposed to literary defamation as a CIA-controlled key figure in the Soviet dissident movement.

In view of such experience, it is advisable to be skeptical whenever there appear former agents in the political arena in East Berlin. Skepticism is advisable also vis-a-vis the longtime NATO secretary Ursel Lorenzen, who in a TV interview 3 days after her escape from Brussels (naturally!) explained her defection by pointing to an inner conflict. In reply to the question why she had given up her NATO job and come to East Berlin, she promptly replied: "I witnessed the inhuman military planning, which really is aimed exclusively at war. And I could not and cannot reconcile this with my basic humanistic attitude. That is why I am here now."⁴² Again a maneuver of psychological warfare for the purpose of justifying treason and

espionage--a maneuver that probably did not fail to impress ingenuous spectators. Even the Bonn daily DIE WELT expressed puzzlement the following day, asking in one of its headlines: "Ursel Lorenzen--an agent motivated by conviction?"

Likewise worth mentioning is a misinformation coup which involved as an extra Inge Goliath--the Bonn secretary who--along with her husband Wolfgang--had on 10 March absconded to East Berlin and had requested "political asylum." On 17 March, after a period of silence, she made a public appearance "before the Berlin foreign press," in order to speak up against the "activities" of her longtime boss, which were directed "against peace and detente." She stated: "In the 10 years of work for Dr Marx, I came to realize that he was holding many strings and that he was using these strings to attain objects that were at variance with his public statements. It was during this time, when I was on the personal staff of Dr Marx, that I witnessed various activities on his part and on the part of politicians close to him--activities that definitely are irreconcilable with the responsibilities of a parliamentary opposition. I saw that Dr Marx--along with Dr Dregger and Dr Woerner--was coordinating the pro-CSU forces in the CDU, organizing their cooperation with the CSU."⁴³ And so on. These--more than dubious--disclosures occurred at a time, when the dissension between the two union parties in regard to a joint candidate for the chancellorship had come to a head. In order to intensify the effect of her surprisingly clumsy attempt at misinformation, the ex-agent sent the brochure containing the text of her statement and various other protocols--allegedly notes by the CDU deputy about his trips to Beijing--to individuals in the Federal Republic, including journalists and Bundestag [Lower House] deputies, and inform them she was prepared to give them access in East Berlin to additional materials. The East Berlin address given was the International Press Center.

Espionage--Who Benefits?

The question as to who benefits from the work of the Main Administration for Intelligence Collection is a valid one, first impressions to the contrary notwithstanding. Naturally, as is suggested by their utterances, leading GDR politicians are likely to attribute to it great political importance, and the success of the HVA is apt to encourage them to persist in their efforts with their "specific means and capacities" to help "enforce the principles of peaceful coexistence."⁴⁴ Under these circumstances, the SED regards as irrelevant the question whether through "open materials" the HVA could possibly obtain a "realistic enemy image" just as easily or more easily than through secret intelligence work. From the point of view of the SED leadership, there is no reason to reduce the activities of its secret services--not to mention the economic benefits (estimated at hundreds of millions) produced by industrial espionage.⁴⁵

A totally different question is whether the key figures in East Berlin are aware of the politically and psychologically harmful consequences of their attitude. The Guillaume scandal in particular severely impeded the normalization of relations between the two German states: Not only did the affair lead to the resignation of Willy Brandt--the Federal Chancellor who more than any other chancellor had been intent on pursuing a new Ost- and Germany policy, a policy oriented toward reconciliation; so far, the crisis of confidence in the relations between Bonn and East Berlin has not been overcome--especially since it is again and again reactivated by new espionage affairs. It was for very good reasons that 9 months after the unmasking of Guillaume Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt stated in his Government

Communique of 20 January 1975 "that through a serious case of espionage the government of the GDR has considerably impaired the relations with the Federal Republic and that this impairment can definitely be said to persist."⁴⁶ Since then, the general distrust has not diminished. The Kahlig-Scheffler case, the Lutze case and others were bound to aggravate this distrust.

Beyond that, the political citizens in this country, who through their taxes finance the "political prizes" of inner-German detente, are asking how espionage and psychological warfare can be reconciled with those "normal neighborly relations" that the two German states agreed on in Article I of the Basic Agreement. The spirit of the Basic Agreement can be destroyed without any concrete violation of its regulations. On this course, the Main Administration for Intelligence Collection of the GDR Ministry for State Security has already achieved substantial results. Where will this course lead?

FOOTNOTES

1. See Louis Hagen, "Der heimliche Krieg auf deutschem Boden" [The Secret War on German Soil], Duesseldorf/Vienna, 1969.
2. Erich Mielke, "Bearing Great Responsibility for the Reliable Protection of Socialism," EINHEIT, No 1, 1975, p 49.
3. In regard to the Guillaume case, see Heinz Vielain/Manfred Schell, "Verrat in Bonn" [Treason in Bonn], Berlin, 1976, pp 97 ff.
4. "Hunt for Agents in the Federal Republic," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 2 May 74.
5. Erich Honecker, "Zuverlaessiger Schutz des Sozialismus. Ausgewaehlte Reden und Schriften zur Militaerpolitik der SED" [Reliable Protection of Socialism. Selected Speeches and Writings on the SED's Military Policy], 2nd rev. ed., East Berlin, 1977, p 138.
6. Erich Mielke, "Bearing Great Responsibility...", op. cit., p 48, footnote 2.
7. Erich Honecker, "Zu aktuellen Fragen unserer Inner- und Aussenpolitik nach dem IX. Parteitag" [On Urgent Problems Concerning our Domestic and Foreign Policy After the Ninth Party Congress], East Berlin, 1976, pp 13 ff.
8. The main organ of Soviet espionage is the Committee for State Security (KGB) with its Main Administration for Foreign Countries. In addition, there exists at the General Staff of the Soviet Army the Main Intelligence Administration as a military foreign intelligence service. See John Barron, "KGB. Arbeit und Organisation des sowjetischen Geheimdienstes in Ost und West" [KGB-- Operation and Organization of the Soviet Intelligence Service in East and West], Bern/Munich, 1974. Aleksey Myagkov, "KGB intern. Enthuellungen eines Offiziers der III. Hauptabteilung" [Inside the KGB. Disclosures by an Officer of Central Department III], Stuttgart, 1977. In regard to the activities of the KGB in the GDR, Myagkov writes: "Since I was stationed for 5 years in the GDR, I am well acquainted with the operations in that country. These operations are carried out by no fewer than approximately 60 KGB departments with

at least 1,500 KGB officers. On GDR territory, the 'operators' have almost the same rights as they enjoy in the Soviet Union, with the exception that they are not allowed to arrest GDR citizens.... In all other respects, the sovereignty of the GDR is in no way respected. The KGB is entitled to recruit GDR citizens for the purpose of political surveillance of the GDR populace and to employ them in espionage and counterintelligence activities.... The KGB takes full advantage of the services of the MfS and of the GDR police and in actual fact it frequently gives them instructions...." Ibid., p 44.

9. Gert Buchheit, "Die anonyme Macht. Aufgaben, Methoden, Erfahrungen der Geheimdienste" [The Anonymous Power. Tasks, Methods and Experience of the Intelligence Services], Frankfurt, 1969, p 75.
10. See Karl Wilhelm Fricke, "Shield and Sword--25 Years Ministry for State Security," DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, No 2, 1975, pp 132 ff.
11. For the most part, this account follows Hendrik van Bergh, "ABC der Spione" [ABC of Spies], Pfaffenhofen, 1965, p 214; this work is based on information provided by the former Captain Max Heim, who until his defection to West Berlin on 16 April 1959 headed a section in the HVA's Department II.
12. "Oestliche Untergrundarbeit gegen Westberlin. Denkschrift des Senators fuer Inneres" [Eastern Underground Work Against West Berlin. Memorandum by the Senator of Domestic Affairs], Berlin, 1959, p 11.
13. Regarding Wolf's biography, see "Wolf, Markus (Lieutenant-General)--From the Papers of a Western Intelligence Service: The Dossier of the East Berlin Intelligence Boss," DIE ZEIT, No 9, 1979.
14. "The Enemies Have Always Been Mistaken," from the speech delivered by Erich Mielke--candidate of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister for state security--at the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Ministry for State Security, BERLINER ZEITUNG, 8/9 Feb 75. Since the Ninth SED Congress, Mielke is no longer candidate, but member of the Politburo.
15. "State Security Fully Guaranteed," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19 Feb 79.
16. After the defection to West Berlin of First Lieutenant Werner Stiller (19 January 1979; Stiller had been a control officer in the HVA's Department XIII), there may have taken place a reorganization of the "apparatus." Nevertheless, its basic structure has been retained for the last 20 years. See "Disclosures on Espionage in the FRG--Results of an Interview With a Section Head in the Ministry for State Security" (the person referred to is Max Heim--the author), BULLETIN DES PRESSE- UND INFORMATIONSAEMTES DER BUNDESREGIERUNG, 6 Jun 59.
17. Regarding the Lutze case, see Heinz Vielain and Manfred Schell, "Verrat in Bonn," op. cit., pp 183 ff., footnote 3.

18. Erich Mielke, "Bearing Great Responsibility ...," op. cit., p 44, footnote 2.
19. Quoted in Erich Mielke, "Champion of the Revolution. Observations on the Occasion of the 100th Birthday of the First Chairman of the Cheka," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10/11 Sep 77.
20. Erich Mielke, "Ten Years of Struggle Against the Enemies of Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 Feb 60.
21. "Administration of Justice in the GDR: Model for All of Germany--From an Interview With the Minister for State Security, Comrade Erich Mielke," SOZIALISTISCHE DEMOKRATIE, 17 May 63.
22. Federal Ministry of the Interior, ed., "Betrifft: Verfassungsschutz 1977" [Re: Protection of the Constitution 1977], Bonn, 1978, p 130.
23. The exemplary case of a "long-term agent"--who was infiltrated into the FRG in 1955 and financially supported by the MfS in his university studies and who finally, from 1963 until 1968, worked in a nuclear research plant (up to his unmasking as a GDR spy)--is described in detail in Bernd Ruland, "Krieg auf leisen Sohlen. Spione in Deutschland" [Silent War. Spies in Germany], Stuttgart, 1971, pp 80 ff.
24. The following data are based on the published annual reports (1977/1977) of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and on the Federal Supreme Court ruling (28 Feb 79) on the Kahlig-Scheffler/Goslar case (file no.: 3StR 24/79 [L]).
25. Federal Supreme Court ruling of 28 February 1979 on the Kahlig-Scheffler/Goslar case, op. cit., pp 8 ff, footnote 24.
26. See Reinhard Gehlen, "Der Dienst. Erinnerungen 1942-1971" [The Service. Reminiscences 1942-1971], Mainz/Wiesbaden, 1971, pp 201 and 302. Hermann Zolling and Heinz Hoehne, "Pullach intern. General Gehlen und die Geschichte des Bundesnachrichtendienstes" [Inside Pullach. General Gehlen and the History of the Federal Intelligence Service], Hamburg, 1971, pp 156 ff.
27. "Verfassungsschutz 1978--Spionageabwehr" [Protection of the Constitution 1978--Counterintelligence], advance manuscript for the press, p 6.
28. Gert Buchheit, op. cit., pp 184 and 352, footnote 9.
29. More on the influence-exerting agent Karlfranz Schmidt-Wittmack in Karl Wilhelm Fricke, "Intelligence Service and Covert Influence," in: Hans-Adolf Jacobsen; Gert Leptin; Ulrich Scheuner, and Eberhard Schulz, eds., "Drei Jahrzehnte Aussenpolitik der DDR" [Three Decades of GDR Foreign Policy], Munich, 1979, p 340.
30. Quoted in Claus Zeller, "Marx haette geweint. Der Forst-Prozess: Geteilte Nation im Zwielficht" [Marx Would Have Cried. The Forst Trial: Shadows Over a Divided Nation], Stuttgart, 1969, pp 6 ff.

31. Quoted in Horst Barth, "On the Borders of Treason," KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU, 9 Jul 69.
32. More detailed information in Peter Luebbe, "Kommunismus und Sozialdemokratie. Eine Streitschrift" [Communism and Social Democracy. A Polemic], Berlin/Bonn, 1978, pp 280 ff.
33. See Margret Boveri, "Der Verrat im 20. Jahrhundert" [Treason in the 20th Century], Reinbek, 1976, pp 351 ff. Boveri's portrayal of Sorge still excels all that has been written about the "master spy."
34. Ruth Werner, "Sonjas Rapport" [Sonja's Report], East Berlin, 1977, p 340.
35. See Supreme Court ruling of 19 October 1967, NEUE JUSTIZ, No 22, 1967, pp 681 ff.
36. Gerhard Kegel, "Journey Into World War II," HORIZONT, No 27, 1979.
37. "Future Officers of the National People's Army at the 'General's Meeting-Place'," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 Jun 79.
38. See Ammer, "Cold War Product from the GDR Military Publishing House," DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, No 5, 1979, pp 541 ff.
39. "Betrifft: Verfassungsschutz 1974" [Re: Protection of the Constitution 1974], Bonn, 1975, p 82.
40. "This Is How the American Intelligence Service Operates," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 Jul 56.
41. Rolf Schwarz, "At the Invisible Front--Interview With the Scout Horst Hesse Who Worked in an American Military Intelligence Center," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8/9 Mar 75.
42. "Objective of NATO: Aggression Against the Socialist States," TV interview with Ursula Lorenzen, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9 Mar 79.
43. "Excerpts from the Statement Made by Mrs Inge Goliath Before Foreign Press Representatives on 17 May 79 in Berlin," HORIZONT, No 25, 1979.
44. Erich Mielke, "Bearing Great Responsibility ...," op, cit., p 47, footnote 2.
45. According to Andreas von Schoeler, parliamentary state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior, in 1977 alone the GDR realized through espionage research and development savings of approximately DM 300 million. See INNERE SICHERHEIT, No 49, 1979, p 14.
46. Helmut Schmidt, "Report on the State of the Nation," quoted from: "Jahresbericht der Bundesregierung 1974" [Annual Report of the Federal Government, 1974], Bonn, 1975, pp 30 ff.

OPERATION OF WIRE-GUIDED ANTITANK MISSILE DETAILED

East Berlin URANIA in German No 2, Feb 81 signed to press 23 Dec 80 pp 14-17

[Article by Col Horst Westphal: "For the Protection of Peace and Socialism: Anti-Tank Defense With Rockets"]

[Text] On 1 March, the NVA will have been in existence for exactly 25 years. For 25 years the most important armed force of the GDR's worker and peasant power has always kept an alert and combat-ready peace vigil at the western border of the socialist community of states. Only at the side of our comrades-in-arms, the Soviet army and the other fraternal armies, has it been possible to make such a decisive contribution to securing of peace in the face of the accelerated arms race by the NATO nations and their growing aggressiveness toward socialist countries.

In addition to the accelerated arms race for the development, production and storage of means of mass destruction having enormous consequences, aggressive imperialist circles are also stepping up the arming of their nations' armies in the area of the so-called conventional military technology. It is becoming evident that the armies of the socialist defense alliance must, among other things, also be responsible for effective antitank warfare. A mass turnout of tanks was evident, e.g., during NATO's "Autumn Force 80" fall maneuvers, which took place on FRG territory and which was clearly directed against the East--against the socialist countries.

Since World War II there has been a continuous tendency to use large numbers of tanks with ever improved properties on the battlefield. For that reason, over the years various possibilities of engaging tanks have been found, which differ from each other through their employment conditions, their range, accuracy and destructive capability. The most important of them: antitank hand grenades for short distances; antitank cannons, which fire special armor-piercing grenades, for intermediate and long distances. Another suitable means of engagement was the rocket which was developed into the highly effective guided antitank rocket (PALR). It excels through its high degree of accuracy and great range. Based on its small size, it needs only a light carriage and its operation is relatively simple.

Each new weapon places new demands on man. The highest degree of effectiveness can be expected only when outstanding technological properties of a weapons system are

combined with great military skill in operation. The PALR especially places high demands on the gunner. Through its relatively complex construction and the large percentage of electronic parts, especially in its surface guidance installation, the maintenance crew must also possess extensive knowledge.

As a general rule, PALR are guided to the target until impact. For this reason, guidance devices are attached to the rocket, which allow for a change in flight direction. The gunner guides the rocket in flight by controlling the guidance devices attached to the rocket. With almost all known PALR systems, the medium for transmitting commands to the rocket is a so-called guidance wire. It consists of several thin, isolated individual wires which are combined into a minicable. One end is firmly connected to the surface guidance installation, while the cable spool is attached to the rocket. The wire therefore comes off the spool as the rocket is in flight. The commands pass in the form of electrical impulses from the surface installation through the cable to the rocket. Through the same cable, an information signal is passed from the rocket to the surface guidance installation, which is produced by the gyroscope within the rocket, and which gives information regarding the rocket's axis of rotation.

In general, the PALR uses the so-called three-point guidance; i.e. gunner, rocket in flight and target must be on one line. Should the rocket deviate from the sight line to the target, the gunner must bring it back to this line by giving the appropriate commands. This places high demands on the gunner, especially on his capacity to concentrate and react, since he must observe two moving objects--rocket and target--and must react accordingly.

PALR gunners must undergo a special selective process and intensive daily training on special simulator devices. Only under these conditions can it be assured that the PALR reaches its fullest combat potential.

Numerous variants of guided systems with antitank rockets have been constructed. There are those carried by all-terrain vehicles, such as the GAZ-69 and SRV-40. The PALR can also be used as an additional weapons system in armored personnel carriers, helicopters and ships. Especially interesting is the portable antitank complex developed by Soviet manufacturers (see pp 16, 17). It is also part of NVA equipment and our soldiers have mastered its operation, which they have proved often during joint maneuvers at the side of their comrades-in-arms. They are capable of using this light, very reliable and very effective weapon under any weather condition and in any kind of terrain.

The portable antitank complex excels through a number of special properties, which make it an extremely remarkable weapon. It is so small and maneuverable that it can be deployed even under difficult terrain conditions.

The complex consists of the surface guidance installation and the trunk containers holding one rocket each (still without warhead attached). The cap serves simultaneously as launching device (see p 17).

The crew consists of 3 men--the gunner and 2 cannon loaders. The gunner puts the surface guidance installation, which weighs 12.4 kg, into a carrier and carries

it on his back like a knapsack, and each cannon loader carries 2 trunk containers weighing 18.1 kg each. Each container holds a rocket attached to a launching pad. In the field, the rocket is placed on the cap. This completes the launching installation. Now, only the warhead needs to be added, and the launching device has to be connected to the guidance desk through a cable.

A well-trained crew is capable of achieving combat position within 1 minute, 40 seconds, and of launching 2 rockets toward maximal range targets within 1 minute.

Portable Anti-Tank Complex

Weight of rocket: 10.9 kg.

Diameter of rocket: 393 mm.

Median cruise speed: approximately 120 m/s.

The rocket consists of a warhead with fuse, the solid rocket motor, the wing, tracer device, equipment block and ground anchor.

The warhead contains a hollow explosive charge which is capable of piercing strong armored plates. The fuse does not ignite before reaching a distance of 70 to 200 m, which means that targets at close range cannot be engaged. Upon impact on target, the piezoelectric effect serves to ignite the fuse: upon impact, crystals contained within the warhead are exposed to great pressure, which creates the ignition voltage.

The solid rocket motor consists of 2 separate combustion chambers containing the starting engine (situated in front) and the cruise engine (in the rear). The starting engine has 4 jets. Its obliquity, as opposed to the line through the rocket's longitudinal axis, causes a revolution of the rocket around its longitudinal axis, by 8.5 Rev/s. The cruise engine guarantees the cruise speed up to impact on target.

The wing part consists of a casing with 4 folding wings and an attachment for the tracer device. The tracer device serves the visual observation of the rocket during flight.

In the device bloc are the steering engine, the gyroscope, the distributor and the guidance wire spool. Mounted on the jets of the mobile cruise engine are mobile jet gun sights which are moved back and forth by the steering engine within an angle of $\pm 14^\circ$. This process is controlled by the guidance commands which the rocket receives via the guidance wire. The frequency with which the jet gun sights move is determined by the rotation of the rocket. The gyroscope, which reaches approximately 27,000 Revs/minute upon launching, retains its position during the entire flight. The rocket rotates, and a rotary switch attached to the gyroscope produces impulses which are transmitted to the surface guidance installation through the guidance wire. In this manner, the rocket determines its own timing.

Peculiarities of the Rocket

The rocket contains only components which are absolutely necessary. It does not, e.g. have the capacity to produce its own current. The energy produced by the guidance signals suffices to power the steering engine. Mechanical energy necessary for the operation of the jets comes directly from the compressed combustion gases of the cruise engine.

The gyroscope is also operated mechanically. A thin steel band is wrapped around its axis, with the end firmly connected to the launching device. As soon as the rocket moves on the launching track, the steel band causes the gyroscope to turn around its own axis.

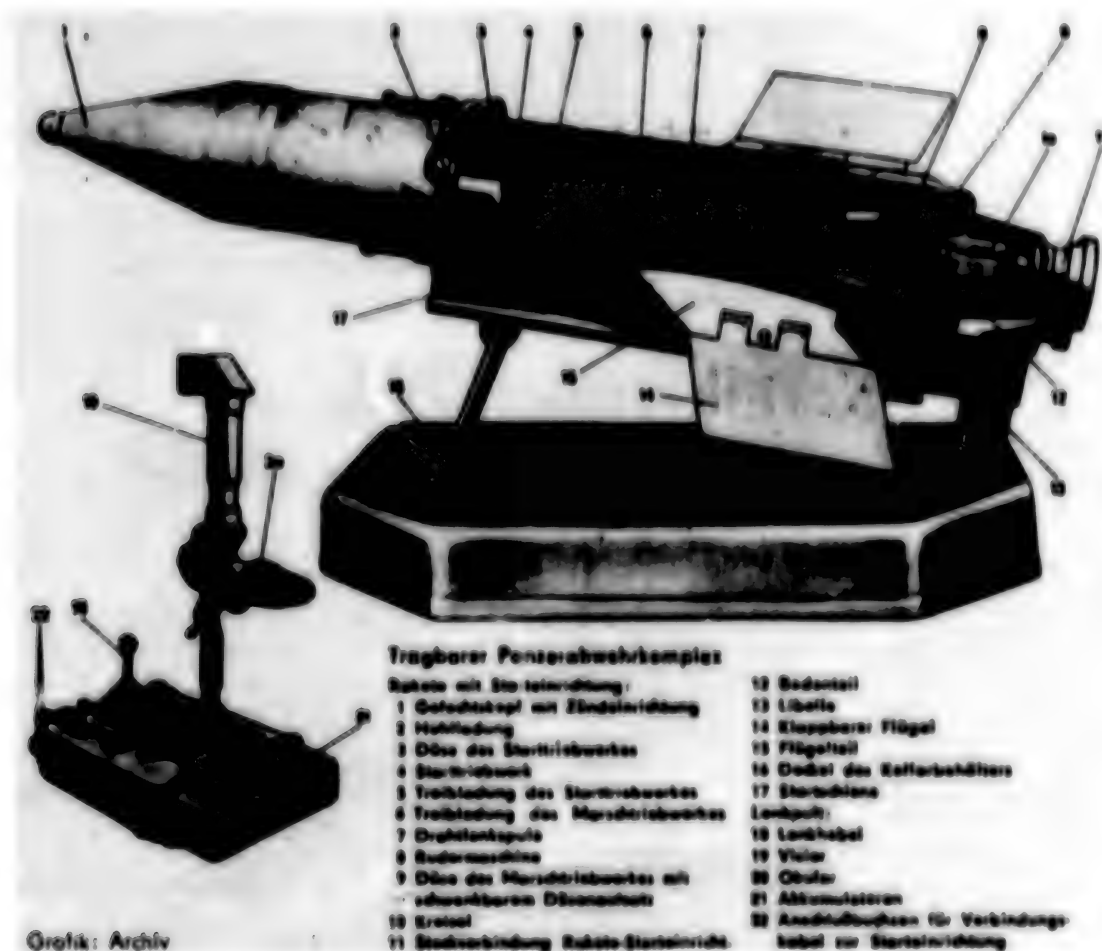
The guidance system uses only one channel. Because of the rocket's rotation, the rudder can function both in vertical and horizontal direction. After each 90° revolution, the revolving jet attachments can guide the rocket to the right or to the left, i.e. up or downward. Impulses produced by the gyroscope assure that signals coming from the ground guidance installation always correspond to the respective position of the rocket.

The momentum necessary for guidance is generated by the fact that the jets remain in final position for different lengths of time. This causes the axis of the rocket to change position, and the rocket follows a new course.

The Guidance Desk

The guidance desk contains the ground guidance installation, together with battery accumulators and the guidance switch. The gunner watches the rocket through the gun sight and moves the guidance switch when the rocket deviates from sight alignment. Signals generated by this are converted, separated into altitude and latitude commands, and transmitted to the rocket in the appropriate time sequence in accordance with the position signals received by the rocket.

Portable Anti-Tank Rocket Complex



KEY: ROCKET WITH STARTER DEVICE

1. Warhead with fuse
2. Hollow charge
3. Jet of starter engine
4. Starter engine
5. Propellant charge of starter engine
6. Propellant charge of cruise engine
7. Guidance wire spool
8. Rudder
9. Jet of cruise engine with revolving jet attachments
10. Gyroscope
11. Plug connection between rocket and launching device
12. Ground anchor

- 13. Bubble
- 14. Hinged wing
- 15. Wing
- 16. Cover of trunk container
- 17. Launching track

Guidance Desk

- 18. Guidance switch
- 19. Gun sight
- 20. Eye piece
- 21. Battery accumulators
- 22. Hubs for connecting cable to launching device

9328

CSO: 2300/172

DECREE ON RE-EDUCATION THROUGH WORK AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 17, 25 Mar 81 p 6

[Excerpts] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article--Council of State Decree No 218/1977 on some transitory measures referring to the punishment and re-education through work of persons who have committed deeds covered by the penal law, which became Law No 47/1977, is supplemented as follows:

After Article 3, Article 4 with the following content is introduced:

"Article 4--After the execution of at least half the term of the educational measure stipulated in Article 3, if the minor has learned a trade and has shown signs of reforming, in accordance with the seriousness of the act, the conditional cessation of the execution of the educational measures can be ordered.

If, after the conditional cessation has begun and the period of the educational measure has not ended, the minor is absent from class or from work, the conditional cessation can be revoked and the person can be ordered to undergo the remaining part of the educational measure.

If, during this period, the minor commits another action covered by penal law, the conditional cessation of the execution of the educational measure is revoked. In this case, the minor is sent to a special school for work and re-education. The length of this educational measure will be determined by the seriousness of the actions, the possibility for re-educating the minor and the period executed of the measure applied previously, not to exceed 5 years. If the person was over 18 years of age when he committed the later act and a punishment of prison or a fine is given for the act committed, then only this punishment will be executed.

The conditional cessation of the measure is ordered by the court in whose territorial radius the special school for work and re-education is located, upon notification of the management of the school and the revocation is ordered by the court of execution or, according to the case, by the court which first heard the case of the infraction which incurred the revocation. The notification of the revocation is carried out by the office or by the public prosecutor.

The educational measure is considered to be executed if during the period from the conditional cessation to the end of the period of the educational measure it has not been necessary to revoke the conditional cessation of the execution of the measure."

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest, 25 March 1981
No 64

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

CURRENCY DECREE ABROGATED--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that paragraphs 6 and 7 of Article 37 of Decree No 210/1960 on foreign currencies, precious metals and precious gems, as it was republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I No 56 of 17 May 1972, have been abrogated. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 16, 24 Mar 81 p 1]

CSO: 2700/208

END

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FICHE

DATE FILMED

May 4, 1981

